ACCOUNT

OF THE

Captivity

OF

CAPT. ROBERT KNOX,

AND OTHER ENGLISHMEN,

IN THE

ISLAND OF CEYLON;

AND OF THE

CAPTAIN'S MIRACULOUS ESCAPE,

AND RETURN TO ENGLAND, IN SEPTEMBER 1680; AFTER DETENTION ON THE ISLAND OF NINETEEN YEARS AND A HALF.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

And first printed in 1681.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD, BOOKSELLER TO THE QUEEN NO. 190, PICCADILLY.

1818

DS489
.5
K6
1908

CONTENTS.

CAPTAIN KNOX'S NARRATIVE.

CHAP. I.—Of the Reason of our going to Ceylon, and Detainment there .. 5

CHAP. II.—How we were carried up into the Country, and disposed of there; and of the Sickness, Sorrow, and Death of the Captain 16

CHAP. III.—How I lived after my Father's Death—And of the Condition of the rest of the English; and how it fared with them—And of our Interview 33

CHAP. IV.—Concerning some other Englishmen detained in that Country 52

CHAP. V.—Concerning the means that were usual for our Deliverance—And what happened to us in the Rebellion—And how we were settled afterwards 65

CHAP. VI.—A Continuation of the Author's particular Condition after the Rebellion—Purchaseth a Piece of Land 77

M570886

CHAP. VII.—A Return to the rest of the English, with some further Accounts of them—and some further Discourse of the Author's Course of Life 92

CHAP. VIII.—How the Author had like to have been received into the King's Service, and what Means he used to avoid it—He meditates and attempts an Escape, but is often prevented 105

CHAP. IX.—How the Author began his Escape, and got onward of his way about an hundred Miles .. 123

CHAP. X.—The Author's Progress in his flight from Andarodgburro into the Woods, unto their Arrival in the Malabars' Country 140

CHAP. XI—Being in the Malabar Territories, how they encountered two Men, and what passed between them—And of their getting safe unto the Dutch Fort—And their Reception there, and at the Island Manaar, until their embarking for Columbo. 157

CHAP. XII.—Their Arrival at Columbo, and Entertainment there—Their Departure thence to Batavia—And from thence to Bantam—Whence they set sail for England.. 168

AN

ACCOUNT,

&c.

CHAP. I.

Of the Reason of our going to Ceylon, and Detainment there.

ANNO 1657, the Ann frigate, of London, Captain Robert Knox commander, on the one-and-twentieth day of January, set sail out of the Downs, in the service of the Honourable the English East India Company, bound for Fort St. George, on the Coast of Coromandel, to trade one year from port to port in India. Which we having performed, as we were lading of goods to return for England, being in the Road of Masulipatam, on the 19th of November, anno 1659, happened such a mighty storm, that in it several ships

were cast away, and we forced to cut our main-mast by the board, which so disabled the ship, that she could not proceed in her voyage. Whereupon Cotiar, in the island of Ceylon, being a very commodious bay, fit for our present distress, Thomas Chambers, Esq. (since Sir Thomas), the agent at Fort St. George, ordered, that the ship should take in some cloth, and go to Cotiar Bay, there to trade, while she lay to set her mast. Where being arrived, according to the appointment of those Indian merchants of Porto Novo, we carried with us, to whom those goods belonged, they were put ashore, and we minded our business to set another main-mast, and repair our other damages we had sustained by the late storm.

At our first coming thither, we were shy and jealous of the people of the place, by reason our nation never had any commerce or dealing with them. But now having been there some twenty days, and going ashore and coming on board at our pleasure, without any molestation; the governor of the place also telling

us that we were welcome, as we seemed to ourselves to be, we began to lay aside all suspicious thoughts of the people dwelling thereabouts, who had very kindly entertained us, for our monies, with such provisions and refreshings as those parts afforded.

By this time the King of the country had notice of our being there; and, as I suppose, grew suspicious of us, not having all that while, by any message, made him acquainted with our intent and purpose in coming. Thereupon he despatched down a Dissauva, or general, with his army to us; who immediately sent a messenger on board, to acquaint the Captain with his coming, and desired him to come ashore to him, pretending a letter to him from the King. We saluted the message with firing of guns; and my father, the Captain, ordered me, with Mr. John Loveland, merchant of the ship, to go on shore and wait upon him. When we were come before him, he demanded who we were, and how long we should stay? We told him we were English, and not to stay above twenty or thirty days; and desired

permission to trade in his Majesty's port. His answer was, the King was glad to hear that the English were come to his country, and had commanded him to assist us as we should desire, and had sent a letter, to be delivered to none but to the Captain himself.

We were then some twelve miles from the sea-side. Our reply was, that the Captain could not leave his ship to come so far; but if he pleased to come down to the sea-side himself, the Captain would immediately wait upon him, to receive the letter. Upon which the Dissauva desired us to stay that day, and on the morrow he would go down with us. Which being a small request, and we, unwilling to displease him, consented to.

The same day, at evening, the Dissauva sent two of his chief captains to the house where we lay, to tell us that he was sending a present to the Captain, and if we pleased we might send a letter to him; that he would send the present in the night, and himself with us follow the next morning. At which we began to suspect,

and accordingly concluded to write, and advise the Captain not to adventure himself, nor any other, on shore till he saw us. We having writ a letter to this purpose, they took it and went away, but never delivered it.

The next morning the present, which was cattle, fruit, &c., was brought to the sea-side, and delivered to the Captain; the messengers telling him withal, that we were upon the way coming down, with the Dissauva; who desired his company on shore against his coming, having a letter from the King to deliver into his own hand. Hereupon the Captain, mistrusting nothing, came up with his boat into a small river, and being come ashore, sat down under a tamarind-tree, waiting for the Dissauva and us. In which time the native soldiers privately surrounded him and men, having no arms with them; and so he was seized on, and seven men with him, yet without any violence or plundering them of any thing; and then they brought them up unto us, carrying the Captain in a hammock upon their shoulders.

The next day after, the long-boat's crew, not knowing what had happened, came ashore to cut a tree to make cheeks for the main-mast, and were made prisoners after the same manner, though with more violence. For they being rough, and making resistance, were bound with withes, and so were led away, till they came where the people got ropes; which when our men saw brought to them, they were not a little affrighted; for, being already bound, they concluded there could be no other use for those ropes but to hang them. But the true use of them was to bind them faster, fearing lest the withes might break, and so they were brought up farther into the country; but afterwards, being become more tame, they were loosed. They would not adventure to bring them to us, but quartered them in another house, though in the same town; where, without leave, we could not see one another. The house wherein they kept the Captain and us, was all hanged with white calico, which is the greatest honour they can show to any; but the house wherein the other men were, that were brought up after

us, was not. They gave us also as good entertainment as the country afforded.

Having thus taken both our boats and eighteen men of us, their next care was fearing lest the ship should be gone, to secure her: therefore, to bring this about, the Dissauva told the Captain that the reason of this their detainment was, that the King intended to send letters and a present to the English nation by him, and therefore that the ship must not go away till the King was ready to send his messenger and message, and thereupon desired the Captain to send on board to order her stay; and it being not safe for her to ride in the Bay, lest the Dutch might come and fire her, that he should take order for her bringing up into the river. Which advice of his, the Captain approved not of; but concealing his dislike of it, replied, that unless he could send two of his own men on board with his letter and order, those in the ship would not obey him, but speedily would be gone with the ship. Which he, rather than he would run the hazard of the ship's departing, granted; imagining that the Captain would order

the ship to be brought up into the river, as he had advised, though the Captain intended to make another use of this message.

Upon which the Captain sent two of his men some Indians accompanying them, in a canoe to the ship; the Captain ordering them, when they were aboard, not to abuse the Indians, but to entertain them very kindly, and afterwards, that, setting them ashore, they should keep the canoe to themselves, instead of our two boats, which they had gotten from us, and to secure the ship, and wait till further order.

These two men stayed on board, and came not back again. This, together with the ship's not coming up, displeased the Dissauva, and he demanded of the Captain the reason thereof. His answer was, that, being detained on shore, the men on board would not obey his command. Upon this, some days after the Dissauva bid the Captain send his son with order to those aboard that the ship might be brought into the river, but provided tnat he would be security for my return; which he promised he would. His order to me was,

to see the top-chains put upon the cables, and the guns shotted, and to tell Mr. John Burford, chief mate, and all the rest, as they valued their lives and liberties, to keep a watch, and not to suffer any boat to come near, after it was dark: and charged me upon his blessing, and as I should answer it at the great day, not to leave him in this condition, but to return to him again. Upon which I solemnly vowed, according to my duty, to be his obedient son.

So having seen all done according to his appointment, I wrote a letter, in the name of the company, to clear my father and myself, to this effect: That they would not obey the Captain, nor any other in this matter, but were resolved to stand upon their own defence. To which they all set their hands. Which done, according to my promise and duty, I returned again, and delivered the letter to the Dissauva, who was thereby answered, and afterwards urged the Captain no more in that matter, but gave him leave at his pleasure to write for what he pleased to have brought to him from the ship; still pretending the King's order

to release us, was not yet, but would suddenly come. And so we remained expecting it about two months, being entertained, as formerly, with the best diet and accommodation of the country.

Having continued thus long in suspense, and the time and season of the year spending for the ship to proceed on her voyage to some other place, and our condition being, as we feared, and afterwards found to be, the beginning of a sad captivity, the Captain sent order to Mr. John Burford to take the charge of the ship upon him, and to set sail for Porto Novo, whence he came, and there to follow the Agent's order.

If any inquire what became of the cloth of our lading, which we brought thither, they only took an account to see what it was, and so left it where and as it was before; and there it remained until both house and goods rotted, as the people of the same town informed me afterwards.

I impute the main reason of our surprise to our neglect, viz. in not sending a letter and present to the King, at our first

coming; who looking upon himself as a great monarch, as he is indeed, requires to be treated with suitable state.

Thus were sixteen of us left to the mercy of those barbarians, the names of which are as follows: the Captain, Mr. Joh. Loveland, John Gregory, Charles Beard, Roger Gold, Stephen Rutland, Nicholas Mullins, Francis Crutch, John Berry, Ralph Knight, Peter Winn, William Hubbard, Arthur Emery, Richard Varnham, George Smith, and myself. Though our hearts were very heavy, seeing ourselves betrayed into so sad a condition, to be forced to dwell among those that knew not God nor his laws; yet so great was the mercy of our gracious God, that he gave us favour in the sight of this people; insomuch that we lived far better than we could have expected, being prisoners, or rather captives, in the hands of the heathen; from whom we could have looked for nothing but very severe usage.

The ship being gone, the King sent to call the Dissauva speedily to him; who, upon this order, immediately marched

away with his army, leaving us where we were; but concerning us there was no order at all.

CHAP. II.

How we were carried up into the Country, and disposed of there; and of the Sickness, Sorrow, and Death of the Captain.

THE Dissauva with his men being gone, the people of the town were appointed to guard and secure us until further order. But they carried us some six miles higher into the country, and would not yet adventure to bring the long-boat's crew unto us, but kept them by themselves in another town, fearing lest we might make an escape, as certainly we would have attempted it, had they not removed us. There was a small Moors' vessel, which lay in the river, which they had seized on about this time, as we supposed they would have done by our ship if they could have catched her there. This vessel had some forty men belonging to her, who were not made prisoners as we were, but

yet lay in the same town: with those we had concluded, that they should furnish us with arms, and in the night all together to march down, and get on board of their vessel, and so make our escape. But being prevented in this design by our departure, we were fain to lie at their mercy.

In our new quarters, our entertainment proved as good as formerly. And indeed there was this to mitigate our misery, that the people were courteous to us, and seemed to pity us. For there is a great difference between the people inhabiting the high lands, or the mountains of Candy, and those of the low lands where we now were placed, who are of a kinder nature by far than the other. For these countries beneath the mountains formerly were in subjection unto the Portuguese; whereby they have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of Christian people; which pleasing them far better than their own, have begot and bred in them a kind of love and affection towards strangers, being apt to show pity and compassion on them in their distress; and you shall hear them oftentimes upbraiding

the highlanders for their insolent and rude behaviour.

It was a very sad condition whilst we were all together; yet, hitherto, each other's company lessened our sufferings, and was some comfort that we might condole one another. But now it came to pass that we must be separated and placed asunder, one in a village, where we could have none to confer withal, or look upon, but the horrible black faces of our heathen enemies, and not understand one word of their language neither This was a great addition to our grief; yet God was so merciful to us, as not to suffer them to part my father and I.

For it was some sixteen days after our last remove, the King was pleased to send a captain with soldiers to bring us up into the country; who brought us and the other men taken in the long-boat together; which was an heavy meeting; being then, as we well saw, to be carried captives into the mountains. That night we supped together, and the next morning changed our condition into real captivity. Howbeit

they gave us many comfortable promises, which we believed not; as, "That the King's intent was not to keep us any longer than till another ship came to carry us away." Although we had but very little to carry, God knows, yet they appointed men to carry the clothes that belonged to the Captain and officers.

We still expected they would plunder us of our clothes, having nothing else to be plundered of: but the Chingulay captain told us, that the King had given order that none should take the value of a thread from us: which indeed they did not. As they brought us up they were very tender of us, as not to tire us with travelling, bidding us go no faster than we would ourselves. This kindness did somewhat comfort us. The way was plain and easy to travel through great woods, so that we walked as in an arbour, but desolate of inhabitants. So that for four or five nights we lay on the ground, with boughs of trees only over our heads. And of victuals, twice a-day, they gave us as much as we could eat, that is, of rice salt fish, dried flesh; and sometimes they

would shoot deer and find honey in the trees, good part of which they always brought unto us. And drink we could not want, there being rivers and puddles full of water as we travelled along.

But when we came out of the woods among inhabitants, and were led into their towns, they brought us victuals ready dressed after their fashion, viz. rice boiled in water, and three other sorts of food, whereof one flesh, and the other two herbs, or such-like things that grow in their country, and all kinds of ripe fruit, which we liked very well and fed heartily upon. Our entertainment all along was at the charge of the country: so we fed like soldiers upon free quarter. Yet I think we gave them good content for all the charge we put them to; which was to have the satisfaction of seeing us eat, sitting on mats upon the ground in their yards, to the public view of all beholders; who greatly admired us, having never seen, nor scarce heard of, Englishmen before. It was also great entertainment to them to observe our manner of eating with spoons, which some of us had,[5] and

that we could not take the rice up in our hands, and put it to our mouths without spilling, as they do, nor gaped and poured the water into our mouths out of pots according to their country's custom. Thus at every town where we came, they used, both young and old, in great companies, to stare upon us.

Being thus brought up all together somewhat near to the city of Candy; now came an order from the King to separate us, and to place us one in a town: which then seemed to us to be very hard; but it was for the convenience of getting food, being quartered upon the country at their charge.

The Captain, Mr. John Loveland, myself, and John Gregory, were parted from the rest, and brought nearer to the city, to be ready when the King should send for us. All the rest were placed one in a town, according to the aforesaid order. Special command also was given from the King, that we all should be well entertained; and, according to the country fare, we had no cause to complain. We

four were thus kept together some two months, faring well all the while. But the King minding us not, order came from the great men in court to place us in towns, as the rest were; only my father and I were still permitted to be together, and a great charge given to use us well. And indeed, twice a-day, we had brought unto us as good fare as the country afforded. All the rest had not their provisions brought to them, as we had, but went to eat from house to house, each house taking its turn.

On the 16th of September 1660, my father and I were placed in a town called Bonder Cooswat: the situation was very pleasing and commodious, lying about thirty miles to the northward of the city of Candy, in the country called Hotcurly, and distant from the rest of our people a full day's journey. We were removed hither from another town nearer to the city, where the nobles at court, supposing that the King would call for us, had placed us to have us ready. Being thus brought to Bonder Cooswat, the people put it to our choice which house we would have to

reside in. The country being hot and their houses dark and dirty, my father chose an open house, having only a roof but no walls: wherein they placed a cot, or bedstead only, with a mat upon it for him; which, in their account, is an extraordinary lodging: and for me, a mat upon the ground.

Monies at that time were very low with us. For although we wanted not for opportunity to send for what we would have brought unto us from the ship, yet fearing we should be plundered of it, sent not for any thing, only a pillow for my father. For we held it a point without dispute, that they that made prisoners of our bodies would not spare to take our goods; my father also alleging, that he had rather his children at home should enjoy them.

But to make amends for that, we had our provisions brought us without money, and that twice a-day, so much as we could eat, and as good as their country yielded; to wit, a pot of good rice, and three dishes of such things as with them

is accounted good cheer: one always either flesh, fish, or eggs; but not over-much of this dish: the other dishes, herbs, pumpkins, or such-like, one of which is always made sour.

The first year that we were brought into this town, this part of the land was extraordinary sickly, by agues and fevers, whereof many people died; insomuch that many times we were forced to remain an-hungry, there being none well enough either to boil or bring victuals unto us.

We had with us a Practice of Piety, and Mr. Rogers's seven treatises, called the Practice of Christianity: with which companions we did frequently discourse; and, in the cool of the evening, walk abroad in the fields for a refreshing, tired with being all day in our house or prison.

This course lasted until God was pleased to visit us both with the country sickness, ague and fever. The sight of my father's misery was far more grievous unto me than the sense of my own, that I must be a spectator of his affliction, and not any

ways able to help him. And the sight of me so far augmented his grief, that he would often say, "What have I done when I charged you to come ashore to me again? Your dutifulness to me hath brought you to be a captive. I am old, and cannot long hold out; but you may live to see many days of sorrow, if the mercy of God do not prevent it. But my prayers to God for you shall not be wanting, that for this cause he would visit you with his mercy, and bestow on you a blessing."

My father's ague lasted not long, but deep grief daily more and more increased upon him; which so overwhelmed even his very heart, that with many a bitter sigh he used to utter these words: "These many years, even from my youth, have I used the seas, in which time the Lord God hath delivered me from a multitude of dangers;" rehearsing to me what great dangers he had been in, in the Straits, by the Turks, and by other enemies; and also in many other places, too large here to insert, and always how merciful God was to him in delivering him out of them

all, so that he never knew what it was to be in the hand of an enemy; but now, in his old age, when his head was grown gray, to be a captive to the heathen, and to leave his bones in the eastern parts of the world, when it was his hopes and intention, if God permitted him to finish this voyage, to spend and end the residue of his days at home with his children in his native country, and to settle me in the ship in his stead: the thoughts of these things did even break his heart.

Upwards of three months my father lay in this manner upon his bed, having only under him a mat and the carpet he sat upon in the boat when he came ashore, and a small quilt I had to cover him withal. And I had only a mat upon the ground and a pillow to lie on, and nothing to cover me but the clothes on my back: but when I was cold, or that my ague came upon me, I used to make a fire, wood costing nothing but the fetching.

We had a black boy, my father brought from Porto Novo, to attend upon him, who seeing his master to be a prisoner

in the hands of the people of his own complexion, would not obey his command, further than what agreed unto his own humour; neither was it then, as we thought, in our power to compel or make him; but it was our ignorance. As for me, my ague now came to a settled course; that is, once in three days, and so continued for sixteen months' time.

There appearing now to us no probability, whereupon to build any hopes of liberty, the sense of it struck my father into such an agony and strong passion of grief, that once, I well remember, in nine days' time nothing came into his mouth but cold water; neither did he, in three months together, ever rise up out of his bed, but when the course of nature required it; always groaning and sighing in a most piteous manner: which for me to hear and see come from my dear father, myself also in the same condition, did almost break my heart. But then I felt that doctrine most true, which I had read out of Mr. Rogers's book, "That God is most sweet, when the world is most bitter."

In this manner my father lay until the 9th of February $16\frac{60}{61}$; by which time he was consumed to an anatomy, having nothing left but skin to cover his bones; yet he often would say, that the very sound of liberty would so revive him, that it would put strength into his limbs. But it was not the will of Him, to whom we say, "Thy will be done," to have it so.

The evening before his death, he called me to come near his bedside, and to sit down by him; at which time also I had a strong fever upon me. This done, he told me, that he sensibly felt his life departing from him, and was assured that this night God would deliver him out of this captivity, and that he never thought in all his lifetime that death could be so easy and welcome to any man, as God had made it to be to him; and the joys he now felt in himself he wanted utterance to express to me. He told me, these were the last words that ever he should speak to me, and bid me well regard and be sure to remember them, and tell them to my brother and sister, if it pleased God, as he hoped it would, to bring us together

in England; where I should find all things settled to my contentation; relating to me after what manner he had settled his estate by letters, which he sent from Cotiar.

In the first place, and above all, he charged me to serve God, and with a circumspect care to walk in his ways, and then he said, God would bless me and prosper me. And next, he bade me have a care of my brother and sister. And lastly, he gave me a special charge to beware of strong drink, and lewd company, which, as by experience many had found, would change me into another man, so that I should not be myself. It deeply grieved him, he said, to see me in captivity in the prime of my years, and so much the more because I had chosen rather to suffer captivity with him than to disobey his command. Which now he was heartily sorry for, that he had so commanded me, but bade me not repent of obeying the command of my father; seeing for this very thing, he said, God would bless me, and bid me be assured of it, which he doubted not of, viz. that God Almighty would deliver me; which at that time I

could not tell how to conceive, seeing but little sign of any such matter. But blessed be the name of my most gracious God, who hath so bountifully sustained me ever since in the land of my captivity, and preserved me alive to see my deceased father's word fulfilled! And truly I was so far from repenting, that I had obeyed the command of my father, and performed the oath and promise I made unto him upon it, that it rather rejoiced me to see that God had given me so much grace.

But though it was a trouble to him, that by his means I was thus made a captive; yet it was a great comfort to him, he said, to have his own son sit by him on his death-bed, and by his hands to be buried; whereas, otherwise, he could expect no other but to be eaten by dogs or wild beasts. Then he gave me order concerning his burial, that having no winding-sheet, I should pull his shirt over his head, and slip his breeches over his feet, and so wrap him up in the mat he lay upon: and then ceased speaking, and fell into a slumber. This was about eight or nine o'clock in the evening, and about two

or three in the morning he gave up the ghost, February the 9th, 1660, being very sensible unto the very instant of his departure.

According to his own appointment, with my own hands I wrapped him up ready for the grave; myself being very sick and weak, and as I thought ready to follow after him. Having none but the black boy with me, I bade him ask the people of the town for help to carry my father to the grave, because I could not understand their language: who immediately brought forth a great rope they used to tie their cattle withal, therewith to drag him by the neck into the woods, saying, they could afford me no other help, unless I would pay for it. This insolency of the heathen grieved me much to see, neither could I with the boy alone do what was necessary for his burial, though we had been able to carry the corpse, having not wherewithal to dig a grave, and the ground very dry and hard. Yet it was some comfort to me that I had so much ability as to hire one to help; which at first I would not have spared to have done, had I known their meaning.

By this means, I thank God, in so decent a manner as our present condition would permit, I laid my father's body in the grave; most of which I digged with my own hands; the place being in a wood, on the north side of a corn-field, where heretofore we had used often to walk, going up to Handapoul: that division, as I have said, being called Bonder Cooswat, because formerly it had belonged to the revenues or jointure of the Queen, Bonder implying something relating to the King. It lies towards the north-west of the middle of the island, in the county of Hotcurly.

Thus was I left desolate, sick, and in captivity, having no earthly comforter, none but only He who looks down from heaven to hear the groaning of the prisoners, and to show himself a father of the fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.

The news of my father's death being carried to court, presently two messengers were sent from thence to see me, and to know of me, how and in what manner my father died, and what he had left: which

was a gold ring, a pagoda, and some two or three dollars, and a few old clothes; God knows, but a very little, yet it scared me not a little, fearing they would take it away from me, and my want being so great; but they had no such order nor intent. But the chief occasion of their coming was to renew the former order unto the people of that town, that they should be kind to me, and give me good victuals, lest I might die also, as my father had done. So, for a while, I had better entertainment than formerly.

CHAP. III.

How I lived after my Father's Death—And of the Condition of the rest of the English; and how it fared with them—And of our Interview.

I STILL remained where I was before, having none but the black boy, and my ague, to bear me company. Never found I more pleasure in reading, meditating, and praying, than now. For there was nothing

else could administer to me any comfort, neither had I any other business to be occupied about. I had read my two books so often over, that I had them almost by heart. For my custom was, after dinner, to take a book and go into the fields, and sit under a tree, reading and meditating until evening; excepting the day when my ague came, for then I could scarce hold up my head. Often have I prayed as Elijah, under the juniper-tree, that God would take away my life, for it was a burden to me.

At length it pleased God, my ague began to be a little more moderate; and so by degrees it wore away, after it had held me sixteen months.

Provisions falling short with me, though rice, I thank God, I never wanted, and monies also growing low; as well to help out a meal as for recreation, sometimes I went with an angle to catch small fish in the brooks, the aforesaid boy being with me. It chanced, as I was fishing, an old man passed by, and seeing me, asked of my boy if I could read in a book. He

answerd, Yes. "The reason I ask," said the old man, "is because I have one, I got when the Portuguese lost Columbo; and if your master please to buy it, I will sell it him." Which when I heard of, I bade my boy go to his house with him, which was not far off, and bring it to me to see it, making no great account of the matter, supposing it might be some Portuguese book.

The boy, having formerly served the English, knew the book; and, as soon as he had got it into his hand, came running with it, calling out to me, "It is a Bible!" It startled me to hear him mention the name of a Bible. For I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one. Upon which I flung down my angle, and went to meet him. The first place the book opened in, after I took it in my hand, was the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, and the first place my eye pitched on, was the thirtieth and one-and-thirtieth verses, where the jailor asked St. Paul, "What must I do to be saved? And he answered, saying, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thine house."

The sight of this book so rejoiced me, and affrighted me together, that I cannot say which passion was greater, the joy, for that I had got sight of a Bible, or the fear that I had not enough to buy it, having then but one pagoda in the world, which I willingly would have given for it, had it not been for my boy, who dissuaded me from giving so much, alleging my necessity for money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the book for a far meaner price, provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old man. This counsel, after I considered, I approved of, my urgent necessities earnestly craving, and my ability being but very small to relieve the same, and however, I thought I could give my piece of gold at the last cast, if other means should fail.

I hope the readers will excuse me, that I hold them so long upon this single passage; for it did so affect me then, that I cannot lightly pass it over as often as I think of it, or have occasion to mention it.

The sight indeed of this Bible so overjoyed me, as if an angel had spoke to me

from heaven: to see that my most gracious God had prepared such an extraordinary blessing for me; which I did, and ever shall, look upon as miraculous, to bring unto me a Bible in my own native language, and that in such a remote part of the world, where his name was not so much as known, and where any Englishman was never known to have been before. I looked upon it as somewhat of the same nature with the Ten Commandments he had given the Israelites out of heaven; it being the thing for want whereof I had so often mourned, nay, and shed tears too; and than the enjoyment whereof there could be no greater joy in the world to me.

Upon the sight of it I left off fishing, God having brought a fish to me, that my soul had longed for; and now how to get it and enjoy the same, all the powers of my soul were employed. I gave God hearty thanks that he had brought it so near me, and most earnestly prayed that he would bestow it on me. Now, it being well towards evening, and not having wherewithal to buy it about me, I

departed home, telling the old man, that in the morning I would send my boy to buy it of him.

All that night I could take no rest for thinking on it, fearing lest I might be disappointed of it. In the morning, as soon as it was day, I sent the boy with a knit cap he had made for me, to buy the book, praying in my heart for good success, which it pleased God to grant: for that cap purchased it, and the boy brought it to me, to my great joy, which did not a little comfort me over all my afflictions.

Having said all this concerning my father and myself, it will be time now to think of the rest of our poor countrymen, and to see what is become of them. They were carried into the country of Hotteracourly, westward from the city of Candy, and placed singly, according to the King's order aforesaid, some four, some six miles distant one from the other. It was the King's command concerning them, that the people should give them victuals, and look after them. So they carried each man from house to house to

eat, as their turns came to give them victuals; and where they supped, there they lodged that night. Their bedding was only a mat upon the ground.

They knew not they were so near to one another a great while; till at length Almighty God was pleased, by their grief and heaviness, to move those heathen to pity and take compassion on them; so that they did bring some of them to one another. Which joy was but abortive; for no sooner did they begin to feel the comfort of one another's company, but immediately their keepers called upon them to go from whence they came; fearing they might consult and run away, although Columbo, the nearest port they could fly to, was above two days' journey from them. But as it is with wild beasts beginning to grow tame, their liberty increaseth: so it happened to our men; so that at length they might go and see one another at their pleasures; and were less and less watched and regarded. And, seeing they did not attempt to run away, they made no matter of it if they stayed two or three days one with the other.

They all wondered much to see themselves in this condition, to be kept only to eat, and the people of the country giving it unto them, daily expecting when they would put them to work, which they never did, nor dared to do. For the King's order was to feed them well only, and to look after them until he pleased to send for them. This, after some time, made them to change their minds, and not to think themselves slaves any more, but the inhabitants of the land to be their servants, in that they laboured to sustain them: which made them to begin to domineer, and would not be content unless they had such victuals as pleased them, and oftentimes used to throw the pots, victuals and all, at their heads that brought them, which they patiently would bear.

And as they lived here longer, they knew better what privileges they had in belonging unto the King, and being maintained by virtue of his command. And their privileges they made use of to no purpose, as I shall relate an instance or two by and by, and showed their English mettle.

Victuals was the only thing allowed them, but no clothes. By this time the clothes they had were almost worn out: this put them to a study what course to take to procure more, when those on their backs were gone. The readiest way that they could devise was this: that whereas they used to take their victuals brought to them ready dressed, they should now take them raw, and so to pinch somewhat out of their bellies, to save to buy clothes for their backs. And so accordingly they concluded to do; and by the favour that God gave them in the sight of the people, by alleging the innocency of their cause, and the extremity of their present condition, having not the least ability to help or relieve themselves, they consented to give them two measures of rice a-day, each man; one of which is as much as any man can eat in a day, so that the other was to serve for advance towards clothes. For, besides rice, they gave them to eat with it salt, pepper, limes, herbs, pumpkins, cocoa-nuts, flesh a little. These, and such-like things, were their constant fare.

And thus they made a shift to live for some years, until some of them had an insight in knitting caps, by whom all afterwards learned, and it proved to be the chief means and help we all had to relieve our wants. The ordinary price we sold these caps for was nine pence apiece, in value English money; the thread standing us in about three pence. But at length, we plying hard our new-learned trade, caps began to abound, and trading grew dead, so that we could not sell them at their former price: which brought several of our nation to great want.

The English began now to pluck up their hearts; and though they were entered into a new condition, they kept their old spirits, especially considering they were the King's men, and quartered by his special order upon the people. When they had obtained to have their allowance raw, if any brought them not their full due, they would go in and plunder their houses of such goods as they found there, and keep them until they came and brought them their complete allowance, to redeem their goods back again.

Some of our Englishmen have proceeded further yet: one, for example, went to buy pots of a potter; who, because he would not let him have them at his own price, fell to quarrel, in which the Englishman met with some blows; which he complained of to the magistrate, as being a person that belonged unto the King, and therefore claimed better usage. And the magistrate condemned the potter as guilty in lifting up his hand against him, and sent some of his soldiers to bind him, and, then bade the Englishman go and content himself, by paying him in the same coin again, as he had served our countryman; which he did until he was satisfied, and moreover ordered him to take the pots he came to buy, and pay nothing. But the law was not so satisfied neither, for the soldiers laid on many blows besides.

Another time, at a certain feast, as they were drinking and wanting wine, they sent money to buy more; but the seller refused to give it them for their money. Which they took so heinously, that they unanimously concluded to go and take it by force. Away they went, each man

with his staff in his hand, and entered the house and began to drink; which the people not liking of, gathered their forces together, and by blows began to resist them; but the Englishmen bravely behaved themselves, and broke several of their pates, who, with the blood about their ears, went to the city to complain to the great men. They demanded of them, if they had ever sold them wine before? They answered: yes. They asked them again, why then did they refuse to sell them now? and that they were well served by the English for denying them drink for their money; and so sent them away, laughing at them. Our men got two or three black and blue blows; but they came home with their bellies full of drink for their pains.

But to return unto myself. It was a full year after my father died, before I had sight of any of my countrymen and fellow-prisoners. Then John Gregory, with much ado, obtained leave to come and see me; which did exceedingly rejoice me. For a great satisfaction it was, both to see a countryman, and also to hear of the welfare of the rest. But he could not be

permitted to stay with me above one day. Until then, I knew not punctually where the rest of my countrymen were; but having heard that they were within a day's journey of me, I never ceased importuning the people of the town where I dwelt, to let me go and see them: which, though very loath, yet at last they granted. Being arrived at the nearest Englishman's house, I was joyfully received, and the next day he went and called some of the rest of our countrymen that were near: so that there were some seven or eight of us met together.

We gave God thanks for his great mercies towards us, being then, as we did confess, in a far better condition than we could have expected. They were now no more like the prisoners I left them, but were become house-keepers and knitters of caps, and had changed their habit from breeches to clouts, like the Chingulays. They entertained me with very good cheer in their houses, beyond what I did expect.

My money at the same time almost gone, and clothes in the same condition,

it was high time for me now to take some course in hand to get more. Therefore I took some advice with them about knitting, my boy having skill therein. Likewise, they advised me to take my victuals raw, wherein they found great profit. For all this while here being no signs of releasing us, it concerned me now to bethink myself how I should live for the future: for neither had I, any more than my countrymen, any allowance for clothes, but victuals only.

Having stayed here some two or three days, we did take leave of one another, hoping to see one another oftener, since now we knew each other's habitations; and I departed to my house, having a keeper with me.

By this time I began to speak the language of the country; whereby I was enabled the better to speak my mind unto the people that brought me my victuals; which was, henceforward, not to boil my rice, but to bring it raw, according to the quantity that the other Englishmen had. This occasioned a great deal of disputing

and reasoning between us. They alleged, that I was not as they, being the Captain's son, and they but his servants, and therefore that it was ordered by the great men at court, that my victuals should be daily brought unto me, whereas they went always from house to house for theirs: neither was it fitting for me, they said, to employ myself in such an inferior office as to dress my own meat, being a man that the King had notice of by name, and very suddenly, before I should be aware of it, would send for me into his presence, where I should be highly promoted to some place of honour. In the mean time, they told me, as pretending to give me good counsel, that it was more for my credit and repute to have my provisions brought unto me ready dressed, as they were before.

Although I was yet but a novice in the country, and knew not much of the people, yet plain reason told me, that it was not so much for my good and credit that they pleaded, as for their own benefit. Wherefore I returned them this answer, that if, as they said, I was greater in

quality than the rest, and so held in their estimation, it would be but reason to demand a greater allowance; whereas I desired no more than the other Englishmen had: and as for the toil and trouble in dressing of it, that would be none to me, for my boy had nothing else to do. And then I alleged several inconveniencies in bringing my victuals ready boiled; as, first, that it was not dressed according to my diet; and many times not brought in due season, so that I could not eat when I was an-hungry. And the last and chief reason of all was, that I might save a little to serve my necessity of clothing; and rather than want clothes for my back, I must pinch a little out of my belly, and so both go share and share alike. And so at length, thanks be to God, I obtained, though with much ado, to get two measures of rice per day for myself, and one for my boy; also cocoa-nuts, pumpkins, herbs, limes, and such-like, enough, besides pepper and salt; and sometimes hens, eggs, or flesh: rice being the main thing they stand upon, for other things they refuse not to give what they have.

Now having settled all business about my allowance, my next concern was to look after a house more convenient; for my present one was too small to dress my victuals in, and to sleep in too. Thereabouts was a garden of cocoa-nut trees, belonging unto the King, a pleasant situation: this place I made choice of to build me a house in. And discovering my desire to the people, they consented, and came and built it for me: but before it was finished, their occasions called them away; but my boy and I made an end of it, and whitened the walls with lime, according to my own country fashion. But in doing this I committed a capital offence: for none may white their houses with lime, that being peculiar to royal houses and temples; but, being a stranger, nothing was made of it, because I did it in ignorance; had it been a native that had so done, it is most probable it would have cost him his head, or at the least a great fine.

Being settled in my new house, I began to keep hogs and hens; which by God's blessing thrived very well with me, and were a great help unto me. I had also a

great benefit by living in this garden; for all the cocoa-nuts that fell down they gave me, which afforded me oil to burn in the lamp, and also to fry my meat in: which oil, being new, is but little inferior to this country butter. Now I learned to knit caps, which skill I quickly attained unto, and by God's blessing upon the same, I obtained great help and relief thereby.

In this manner we all lived, seeing but very little sign that we might build upon, to look for liberty. The chief of our hopes of it was, that in process of time, when we were better acquainted, we might run away: which some of our people attempted to do too soon, before they knew well which way to go, and were taken by the inhabitants. For it is the custom of the Chingulays to suspect all white people they meet, travelling in the country, to be runaways; and to examine them: and if they cannot give satisfactory answers, they will lay hold of them and carry them back unto the city; where they will keep them prisoners under a guard of soldiers, in an open house like a barn, with a little victuals sometimes, and

sometimes with none at all: where they have no other remedy to help themselves but begging. And in this condition they may lie perhaps for their lifetime, being so kept for a spectacle unto the people.

Though the common way whereby the King gratifies such as catch runaways and bring them up is not over-acceptable; for they are appointed to feed and watch them until he calls for them to be brought before him. At which time his promise is bountifully to reward them; but these promises I never knew performed; neither doth he perhaps ever think of it after: for when the King is made acquainted with the matter, the men that have brought up the prisoner are in a manner as bad prisoners themselves, not daring to go home to their houses without his leave, but there they must remain. After some years' stay, the common manner is, for them to give a fee unto the governor of the country, and he will license them to go home, which they must be contented with, instead of the promised reward.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning some other Englishmen detained in that Country.

IN the same captivity with ourselves, on this island, was another company of Englishmen, who were taken about a year and a half before us, viz. in the year 1658. They were thirteen in number, whose names were as follow, viz. Mr. William Vassal, John Merginson, Thomas March, Thomas Kirby, Richard Jelf, Gamaliel Gardiner, William Day, Thomas Stapleton, Henry Man, Hugh Smart, Daniel Holstein (an Hamburgher), James Gony, and Henry Bingham. The occasion of their seizure was thus: the ship these men belonged unto was the Persia Merchant, Captain Francis Johnson commander, which was lost upon the Maldives islands; but they escaped in their boats, and passing along by this land, went on shore to recruit and buy provisions, and so were taken. The Chingulays that took them plundered them

of what they had, except their clothes. Yet one of them, John Merginson by name, having cunningly hid his money about him, saved it from the heathen, but from his own countrymen he could not, some of whom knowing of it, set upon him and robbed him of it; but it did them little good, for the King hearing of it, sent and robbed the robbers.

These men, thus seized, were carried up before the King. Of whom he demanded, whether the English had wars with the Hollanders. They answered, No. Or, if the English could beat them. They answered, they could, and had done it lately. Then he gave order to give them all some clothes, and to Mr. William Vassal, being the chief of them, a double portion: and out of them made choice of two lads; whom afterwards he sent and took into his court. Their honours and their ends we shall see by and by. They were placed in the city of Candy, and each of them had a new mat given them to sleep on, and their diet was victuals dressed and brought them twice a-day from the King's own palace. They had clothes also distributed to them, another

time. So that these men had the advantage of us; for we neither had mats nor clothes, nor had the honour of being ever brought into the King's presence.

This civil reception upon their first coming up into the city, put these Persia Merchant men in hope that the King would give them their liberty. There was at that time an old Portuguese Father, Padre Vergonse by name, living in the city. With him they discoursed concerning the probability of their liberty, and that the favours the King had shown them seemed to be good signs of it: but he told them the plain truth, that it was not customary there to release white men. For saying which, they railed at him, calling him Popish dog and Jesuitical rogue; supposing he spoke as he wished it might be: but afterward, to their grief, they found it to be true as he told them.

Their entertainment was excellently good, according to the poor condition of the country; but they thought it otherwise, very mean and not according to the King's order. Therefore, that the King might be

informed how they were abused, each man took the limb of a hen in his hand, and marched rank and file in order through the streets, with it in their hands, to the court, as a sign to the great men, whereby they might see how illy they were served; thinking hereby the King might come to hear of their misusage, and so they might have order to be fed better afterwards. But this proved sport to the noblemen, who well knew the fare of the country, laughing at their ignorance, to complain where they had so little cause. And indeed afterwards they themselves laughed at this action of theirs, and were half ashamed of it, when they came to a better understanding of the nature of the country's diet.

Yet notwithstanding being not used to such short commons of flesh, though they had rice in abundance, and having no money to buy more, they had a desire to kill some cows, that they might eat their bellies full of beef; but made it somewhat a point of conscience, whether it might be lawful, or not, to take them without leave. Upon which they apply themselves to the old Father abovesaid, desiring him to solve

this case of conscience: who was very ready to give them a dispensation; and told them, that forasmuch as the Chingulays were their enemies, and had taken their bodies, it was very lawful for them to satisfy their bodies with their goods: and the better to animate them in this design, bid them bring him a piece, that he might partake with them. So being encouraged by the old Father, they went on boldly in their intended business.

Now, if you would have an account of the mettle and manfulness of these men, as you have already had a taste of ours, take this passage. The jack-fruit the King's officers often gather, wheresoever it grows, and give to the King's elephants, and they may gather it in any man's grounds, without the owner's leave, being for the King's use. Now these Englishmen were appointed to dwell in a house that formerly belonged unto a nobleman, whom the King had cut off, and seized upon it. In the ground belonging to this house stood a jack-tree, full of fruit. Some of the King's men came thither to gather some of them, to feed the elephants.

But although the English had free liberty to gather what they could eat or desire, yet they would permit none but themselves to meddle with them, but took the officers by the shoulders and turned them out of the garden, although there were more, a great many, than they could tell what to do with. The great men were so civil, that, notwithstanding this affront, they laid no punishment upon them. But the event of this was, that a few days after they were removed from this house to another, where was a garden, but no trees in it. And because they would not allow the King a few, they lost all themselves.

I mentioned before two lads of this company, whom the King chose out for his own service: their names were Hugh Smart and Henry Man. These being taken into his court, obtained great favour and honour from him, as to be always in his presence; and very often he would kindly and familiarly talk with them concerning their country, what it afforded; and of their King, and his strength for war. Thus they lived in his favour for some time.

Till at length, Hugh Smart, having a desire to hear news from England, privately got to the speech of a Dutch ambassador. Of which the King had notice, but would not believe it, supposing the information was given him out of envy to his favourite, but commanded privately to watch him; and, if he went again, to catch him there. Which he not being aware of, went again, and was catched. At which the King was very angry: for he allows none to come to the speech of ambassadors, much less one that served in his presence, and heard and saw all that passed in court. But yet the King dealt very favourably with him; for, had it been a Chingulay, there is nothing more sure than that he should have died for it. But this Englishman's punishment was only to be sent away and kept a prisoner in the mountains, without chains, and ordered him to be well used there: where indeed he lived better content than in the King's palace. He took a wife here, and had one son by her, and afterwards died by a mischance, which was thus: as he was gathering a jack from

the tree by a crook, it fell upon his side, and bruised him so that it killed him.

Henry Man, the other, yet remained in favour, and was promoted to be chief over all the King's servants that attended on him in his palace. It happened one day, that he broke one of the King's China dishes: which made him so sore afraid, that he fled for sanctuary into a Vehar, a temple where the chief priests always dwell, and hold their consultations. This did not a little displease the King; this act of his supposing him to be of opinion that those priests were able to secure him against the King's displeasure. However, he showing reverence to their order, would not violently fetch him from thence; but sent a kind message to the Englishman, bidding him not to be afraid for so small a matter as a dish (and it is probable, had he not added this fault, he might have escaped without punishment); and that he shoul come and act in his place as formerly. At which message he came forth, and immediately, as the King had given order, they took hold of him and bound his arms above the elbows behind, which is their

fashion of binding men. In which manner he lay all that night, being bound so hard that his arms swelled, and the ropes cut through the flesh into the bones. The next day, the King commanded a nobleman to loose the ropes off his arms, and put chains on his legs, and keep him in his house, and there feed him and cure him.

Thus he lay some six months, and was cured; but had no strength in his arms, and then was taken into his office again, and had as much favour from the King as before; who seemed much to lament him for his folly, thus to procure his own ruin.

Not long after he again offended the King: which, as it is reported, was thus: a Portuguese had been sent for to the city, to be employed in the King's service; to which service he had no stomach at all, and was greatly afraid of, as he justly might be. For the avoiding therefore of it, he sends a letter to this English courtier, wherein he entreated him to use his interest to excuse him to the King. The Englishman could not read the letter, being writ in the Portuguese tongue, but gave it to another to

read; which when he knew the contents of, thought it not safe for him to meddle in that business, and so concealed the letter. The person to whom the Englishman had given it to read, some time after, informed the King thereof. Whereupon both the Portuguese that sent the letter, and the Englishman to whom it was sent, and the third person that read it, because he informed no sooner, were all three at one time, and in one place, torn in pieces by elephants.

After this execution, the King, supposing that we might be either discontented in ourselves, or discountenanced by the people of the land, sent special order to all parts where we dwelt, that we should be of good cheer, and not be discouraged, neither abused by the natives.

Thus jealous is the King of letters, and allows none to come or go. We have seen how dear it cost poor Henry Man. Mr. William Vassal, another of the Persia Merchant men, was therefore more wary of some letters he had, and came off better.

This man had received several letters, and it was known abroad that he had;

which he, fearing lest the King should hear of, thought it most convenient and safe to go to the court, and present them himself; that so he might plead in his own defence to the King: which he did. He acknowledged to him that he had received letters, and that they came to his hands a pretty while ago; but withal pretended excuses and reasons to clear himself; as, first, that, when he received them, he knew not that it was against the law and manner of the country; and when he did know, he took counsel of a Portuguese priest (who was now dead), being old, and, as he thought, well experienced in the country. But he advised him to defer awhile the carrying them unto the King, until a more convenient season. After this, he did attempt, he said, to bring them unto the King, but could not be permitted to have entrance through the watches: so that until now he could not have opportunity to present them.

The King, at the hearing hereof, seemed not to be displeased in the least, but bid him read them: which he did in the English language, as they were writ; and

the King sat very attentive, as if he had understood every word. After they were read, the King gave Vassal a letter he had intercepted, sent to us from Sir Edward Winter, then agent at Fort St. George; and asked the news and contents thereof: which Mr. Vassal informed him at large of. It was concerning the victory we had gained over the Dutch, when Obdam, Admiral of Holland, was slain; and concerning the number of our ships in that fight, being there specified to be an hundred and fifty sail. The King inquired much after the number of guns and men they carried. The number of men he computed to be, one ship with another, about three hundred per ship. At that rate, the King demanded of him, how many that was in all. Which Mr. Vassal went about to cast up in the sand, with his finger; but, before he had made his figures, the King had done it by head, and bid him desist, saying it was 45,000.

This news of the Hollanders' overthrow, and the English victory, much delighted the King; and he inquired into it very particularly. Then the King pretended he

would send a letter to the English nation, and bade Mr. Vassal inform him of a trusty bearer; which he was very forward to do, and named one of the best which he had made trial of. One of the great men there present, objected against him, saying he was insufficient, and asked him if he knew no other. At which Mr. Vassal suspected their design, which was to learn who had brought these letters to him; and so framed his answer accordingly, which was, that he knew no other.

There was much other discourse passed between the King and him at this time, in the Portuguese tongue: which what it was I could never get out of him, the King having commanded him to keep it secret. And he saith, he hath sworn to himself not to divulge it, till he is out of the King's hands. At parting, the King told him, for secrecy he would send him home privately, or otherwise he would have dismissed him with drums and honour. But after this the King never sent for him again. And the man that he named, as fit and able as carry the King's letter, was sent away prisoner, to be kept in chains in the country.

It is supposed, that they concluded him to have been the man that brought Vassal his letters. And thus much of the captivity and condition of the Persia Merchant men.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Means that were used for our Deliverance—And what happened to us in the Rebellion—And how we were settled afterwards.

ALL of us in this manner remained until the year 1664; at which time arrived a letter on our behalf to the King, from the Right Worshipful Sir Edward Winter, governor of Fort St. George, and agent there. The Dutch ambassador also at that time, by a commission from the governor of Columbo, treated with the King for us. With Sir Edward's message the King was much pleased, and with the Dutch's mediation so prevailed with, that he promised he would send us away.

Upon this, he commanded us all to be brought to the city; whither when we came,

we were very joyful, not only upon the hopes of our liberty, but also upon the sight of one another. For several of us had not seen the others since we were first parted. Here also we met with the Persia Merchant men, whom until this time we had not seen: so that we were nine-and-twenty English in all.

Some few days after our arrival at the city, we were all called to the court. At which time, standing all of us in one of the palace court-yards, the nobles, by command from the King, came forth and told us, that it was his Majesty's pleasure to grant unto us our liberty, and to send us home to our country, and that we should not any more look upon ourselves as prisoners or detained men. At which we bowed our heads, and thanked his Majesty. They told us moreover, that the King intended to send us either with the Dutch ambassador, or by the boat which Sir Edward Winter had sent; and that it was his Majesty's good will to grant us our choice. We humbly referred it to his Majesty's pleasure. They answered, his Majesty could and would do his pleasure, but

his will was to know our minds. After a short consultation we answered, since it was his Majesty's pleasure to grant us our choice, with many thanks and obeisance, we chose to go with the Dutch ambassador, fearing the boat's insufficiency, she having, as we were well sensible, lain there a great while: and if we had chosen the boat, the danger of going that way might have served them for a put-off to us, and a plea to detain us still, out of care of us. And again, had we refused the ambassador's kindness at this time, for the future, if these things succeeded not with us now, we could never have expected any more aid or friendship from that nation.

In the next place they told us, it was the King's pleasure to let us understand, that all those that were willing to stay and serve his Majesty should have very great rewards, as towns, monies, slaves, and places of honour conferred upon them. Which all in general refused.

Then we were bidden to absent, while they returned our answers to the King.

By and by there came order to call us in one at a time, where the former promises were repeated to every one of us of great favours, honours, and rewards from the King to those that were willing to stay with him. And after each one had given his answer, he was sent into a corner in the court, and then another called, and so all round one after another, they inquiring particularly concerning each man's trade and office; handycraftsmen and trumpeters being most desired by the King. We being thus particularly examined again, there was not one of us was tempted by the King's rewards, but all in general refused the King's honourable employment, choosing rather to go to our native country. By which we purchased the King's displeasure.

After this they told us, we must wait at the palace gate daily, it being the King's pleasure, that we should make our personal appearance before him. In this manner we waited many days. At length happened a thing which he least suspected, viz. a general rebellion of his people against him; who assaulted his palace in the night: but their hearts failed them,

daring not to enter into the apartment where his person was: for, if they had had courage enough, they might have taken him there; for he stayed in his palace until the morning, and then fled into the mountains, and escaped their hands, but more through their cowardliness than his valour. I shall mention here a few things concerning ourselves, who were gotten into the midst of these broils and combustions, being all of us now waiting upon the King in the city.

It was a great and marvellous mercy of Almighty God to bring us safe through these dangers; for it so happened all along, that we were in the very midst. Before they gave the assault on the King's palace, they were consulting to lay hands on us, fearing lest we might be prejudicial to their business, in joining to the help and assistance of the King against them. For though we were but few in comparison, yet the name of white men was somewhat dreadful to them. Whereupon at first their counsels were, to cut us off; but others among them advised that it would be better to let us alone; for that we

being ignorant of their designs, as indeed we were, and at quiet in our several lodgings, could not be provided to hurt or endanger them. But otherwise, if they should lay hands on us, it would certainly come to the King's ears, and alarm him, and then all would be frustrated and overthrown. This some of their own party have related to us since. These counsels were not given out of any secret good will any of them bore to us (as I believe), but proceeded from the overruling hand of God, who put those things into their hearts for our safety and preservation. The people of the city whence the King fled, ran away also, leaving their houses and goods behind them; where we found good prey and plunder, being permitted to ransack the houses of all such as were fled away with the King.

The rebels having driven away the King, and marching to the city of Candy, to the Prince, carried us along with them; the chief of their party telling us, that we should now be of good cheer; for what they did upon very good advisement they had done, the King's ill government

having given an occasion to it, who went about to destroy both them and their country; and particularly insisted upon such things as might be most plausible to strangers; such as, keeping ambassadors, discouraging trade, detaining of foreigners that come upon his land, besides his cruelties towards themselves that were his natural people. All which, they told us, they had been informed was contrary to the government of other countries; and now so soon as their business was settled, they assured us, they would detain none that were minded to go to their own countries.

Being now at Candy, on Christmas Day of all the days in the year, they sent to call us to the court, and gave us some money and clothes first, to make us the more willing to take arms, which they intended then to deliver unto us, and to go with them upon a design to fall upon the old King in the place whither he was fled. But in the very interim of time, God being merciful unto us, the Prince with his aunt fled; which so amazed and discouraged them, that the money and clothes, which

they were distributing to us and other strangers, to gain us over to them, they scattered about the court, and fled themselves. And now followed nothing but cutting one another's throats, to make themselves appear the more loyal subjects, and make amends for their former rebellion.

We, for our parts, little thinking in what danger we were, fell in to scramble among the rest to get what we could of the monies that were strewed about, being then in great necessity and want. For the allowance which formerly we had, was in this disturbance lost, and so we remained without it for some three months, the want of which, this money did help to supply. Having gotten what we could at the court, we made way to get out of the hurly-burly to our lodgings; intending, as we were strangers and prisoners, neither to meddle nor make on the one side or the other, being well satisfied if God would but permit us quietly to sit and eat such a Christmas dinner together, as he had prepared for us.

For our parts, we had no other dealings with the rebels than to desire them to

permit us to go to our native country; which liberty they promised we should not want long. But being sent for by them to the court, we durst not but go; and they giving us such things as we wanted we could not refuse to take them. But the day being turned, put us into great fear, doubting how the King would take it at our hands, from whom we knew this could not be hid.

Into our houses we got safely; but no sooner were we there, but immediately we were called again by a great man, who had drawn out his men, and stood in the field. This man, we thought, had been one of the rebels, who, to secure himself upon this change, had intended to run away down to Columbo, to the Dutch; which made us repair to him the more cheerfully, leaving our meat a-roasting on the spit. But it proved otherwise; for no sooner had he gotten us unto him, but he proclaimed himself for the old King, and forthwith he and his company, taking us with him, marched away to fight or seize the rebels; but meeting none, went into the city, and there

dismissed us, saying, he would acquaint the King how willing and ready we were to fight for him, if need had required; although, God knows, it was the least of our thoughts and intents, yet God brought it to pass for our good. For when the King was informed of what we had received of the rebels, this piece of good service that we had done, or rather supposed to have done, was also told unto him. At the hearing of which, himself justified us to be innocent; saying, "Since my absence, who was there that would give them victuals?" And, "It was mere want that made them to take what they did." Thus the words of the King's own mouth acquitted us. And when the sword devoured on every side, yet by the providence God not one hair of our heads perished.

The tumults being appeased, and the rebellion vanished, the King was settled in his throne again. And all this happened in five days' time. We were now greatly necessitated for food, and wanted some fresh orders from the King's mouth for our future subsistence. So that

having no other remedy, we were fain to go and lie in the highway that leads to the city, a-begging; for the people would not let us go any nearer towards the King, as we would have done. There therefore we lay, that the King might come to the knowledge of us, and give command for our allowance again: by which means we obtained our purpose; for having lain there some two months, the King was pleased to appoint our quarters in the country, as formerly, not mentioning a word of sending us away, as he had made us believe before the rebellion.

Now we were all sent away indeed, but not into our own country, but into new quarters: which being God would have to be no better, we were glad it was so well, being sore a-weary of lying in this manner; for, for some three months' time we had no manner of allowance. We were all now placed one in a town as formerly, together with the Persia Merchant men also, who hitherto had lived in the city of Candy, and had their provisions brought them out of the King's palace, ready

dressed. These were now sent away with us into the country; and as strict a charge was given for our good entertainment as before.

We were thus dispersed about the towns, here one and there another, for the more convenient receiving our allowance, and for the greater ease of the people. And now we were far better to pass than heretofore, having the language, and being acquainted with the manners and customs of the people, and had the same proportion of victuals, and the like respect, as formerly. And now they fall into employments as they please, either husbandry or merchandising, or knitting caps, being altogether free to do what they will themselves, and to go where they will, excepting running away: and for that end, we are not permitted to go down to the sea, but we may travel all about the country, and no man regards us. For though the people, some of the first years of our captivity, would scarcely let us go any whither, and had an eye upon us afterwards; yet in process of time all their suspicions of our going away wore off;

especially when several of the English had built them houses, and others had taken them wives, by whom they had children, to the number of eighteen living when I came away.

Having said all this in general of the English people there, I will now continue a further account of myself.

CHAP. VI.

A Continuation of the Author's particular Condition after the Rebellion—Purchaseth a Piece of Land.

MY hap was to be quartered in a country called Handapondown, lying to the westward of the city of Candy: which place liked me very well, being much nearer to the sea than where I dwelt before; which gave me some probable hopes, that in time I might chance to make an escape. But in the mean time, to free myself from the suspicion of the people, who watched me by night and by day, had an eye to all my actions, I went to work, with the help of some of my neighbours, to build me another

house upon the bank of a river, and intrenched it round with a ditch, and planted an hedge; and so began to settle myself, and followed my business in knitting and going about the countries a-trading; seeming to be very well contented in this condition.

Lying so long at the city, without allowance, I had spent all to some seven shillings, which served me for a stock to set up again in these new quarters; and by the blessing of my most gracious God, which never failed me in all my undertakings, I soon came to be well furnished with what that country afforded; insomuch that my neighbours and townsmen no more suspected my running away; but earnestly advised me to marry, saying, it would be an ease and help to me, knowing that I then dressed my victuals myself: having turned my boy to seek his fortune when we were at the city. They urged also, that it was not convenient for a young man, as I was, to live so solitarily alone in a house; and if it should come to pass that the King should send me hereafter to my country, their manner of marriage, they

said, was not like ours, and I might, without any offence, discharge my wife and go away.

I seemed not altogether to slight their counsel, that they might the less suspect I had any thoughts of mine own country, but told them, that as yet I was not sufficiently stocked, and also, that I would look for one that I could love: though in my heart I never purposed any such matter; but, on the contrary, did heartily abhor all thoughts tending that way.

In this place I lived two years; and all that time could not get one likely occasion of running for it: for I thought it better to forbear running too great a hazard by being overhasty to escape, than to deprive myself of all hopes for the future, when time and experience would be a great help to me.

In the year 1666, the Hollanders came up and built a fort just below me, there being but a ridge of mountains between them and me; but though so near, I could not come to them, a watch being kept at every passage. The King sent down

against them two great commanders with their armies; but being not strong enough to expel them, they lay in these watches to stop them from coming up higher. The name of this fort was called Arrandery: which, although they could not prevent the Dutch from building at that time; yet, some years after, when they were not aware, they fell upon it and took it, and brought all the people of it up to Candy, where those that remained alive of them were, when I came from thence.

In this country of Hotteracourly, where the Dutch had built this fort, were four Englishmen placed, whereof I was one: all whom the King, immediately upon the news of the Dutch invasion, sent order to bring up out of the danger of the war into Candy Uda, fearing that which we were indeed intended to do, viz. to run away. This invasion happening so unexpectedly, and our remove so sudden, I was forced to leave behind me that little estate which God had given me, lying scattered abroad in betel-nuts, the great commodity of that country, which I was then parting

from; and much ado I had to get my clothes brought along with me, the enemies, as they called them, but my friends, being so near. And thus was I carried out of this country as poor as I came into it, leaving all the fruits of my labour and industry behind me: which called to my remembrance the words of Job: "Naked came I into this world, and naked shall I return: God gave and God hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

We all four were brought up together into a town, on the top of a mountain, called Laggendenny: where I and my dear friend and fellow-prisoner, and fellow-bachelor, Mr. John Loveland, lived together in one house. For by this time not many of our people were as we, that is, single men; but seeing so little hopes, despaired of their liberty, and had taken wives or bedfellows.

At our first coming into this town we were very much dismayed, it being one of the most dismal places that I have seen upon that land. It stands alone

upon the top of a mountain, and no other town near it, and not above four or five houses in it. And oftentimes into this town did the King use to send such malefactors as he was minded suddenly to cut off. Upon these accounts our being brought to this place could not but scare us, and the more, because it was the King's special order and command to place us in this very town.

But this our trouble and dejection (thanks be to God!) lasted but a day. For the King seemed to apprehend into what a fit of fear and sorrow this our remove would cast us, and to be sensible how sadly we must needs take it to change a sweet and pleasant country, such as Handapondown and the country adjacent was, for this most sad and dismal mountain. And therefore the next day came a comfortable message from the King's own mouth, sent by no less man than he who had the chief power and command over those people who were appointed to give us our victuals, where we were. This message, which, as he said himself, he was ordered by the King

to deliver to the people in our hearing, was this: that they should not think that we were malefactors, that is, such who having incurred the King's displeasure were sent to be kept prisoners there, but men whom his Majesty did highly esteem, and meant to promote to great honour in his service, and that they should respect us as such, and entertain us accordingly. And if their ability would not reach thereunto, it was the King's order, he said, to bid them sell their cattle and goods, and, when that was done, their wives and children, rather than we should want of our due allowance: which he ordered should be as formerly we used to have; and if we had not houses thatched, and sufficient for us to dwell in, he said, we should change and take theirs.

This kind order from the King coming so suddenly, did not a little comfort and encourage us. For then we did perceive the King's purpose and intent in placing us in those remote parts, was not to punish us but them: that we might be his instruments to plague and take revenge of that people; who it seems had plundered the

King's palace in the time of the late rebellion, when he left it and fled; for this town lies near unto the same; and their office lying about the court, they had the fairer opportunity of plundering it. For the service they are to perform to the King is to carry his palanquin, when he pleaseth to ride therein, and also to bring milk every morning to the court, being keepers of the King's cattle.

In this town we remained some three years; by which time we were grown quite weary of the place, and the place and people also grown weary of us, who were but troublesome guests to them; for, having such great authority given us over them, we would not lose it: and being four of us in call one of another, we would not permit or suffer them to domineer over us. Being thus tired with one another's company, and the King's order being of an old date, we used all means we could to clear ourselves of one another: often repairing unto the court to seek to obtain a license that we might be removed and placed any where else: but there was none that durst grant it, because it was the King's peculiar

command and special appointment, that we must abide in that very town.

During the time of our stay here, we had our victuals brought us in good order and due season: the inhabitants having such a charge given them by their governor, and he from the King, durst not do otherwise: so that we had but little to do, only to dress and eat, and sit down to knit.

I had used the utmost of my skill and endeavour to get a license to go down to my former quarters, all things being now pretty well settled, hoping that I might recover some of my old debts; but by no means could I obtain it. The denial of so resonable a desire put me upon taking leave. I was well acquainted with the way, but yet I hired a man to go with me, without which I could not get through the watches. For although I was the master and he the man, yet when we came into the watches, he was the keeper and I the prisoner; and by this means we passed without being suspected.

Being come into my old quarters, by pretending that this man was sent down

from the magistrate to see that my debts and demands might be duly paid and discharged, I chanced to recover some of them, and the rest gave over for lost, for I never more looked after them; and so I began the world anew, and, by the blessing of God, was again pretty well recruited before I left this town.

In the time of my residence here, I chanced to hear of a small piece of land that was to be sold; about which I made very diligent inquiry: for although I was sore a-weary of living in this town, yet I could not get out of it, not having other new quarters appointed me, unless I could provide a place for myself to remove to; which now God had put into my hand. As for the King's command, I dreaded it not much, having found by observation, that the King's orders wear away by time, and the neglect of them comes at last to be unregarded. However, I was resolved to put it to a hazard, come what will.

Although I had been now some seven or eight years in this land, and by this time came to know pretty well the customs

and constitutions of the nation, yet I would not trust my own knowledge, but, to prevent the worst, I went to the governor of that same country where the land lay, to desire his advice, whether or no I might lawfully buy that small piece of land. He inquired whose and what land it was; I informed him, that it had been formerly dedicated to a priest, and he at his death had left it to his grandson; who for want was forced to sell it. Understanding this, the governor approved of the business, and encouraged me to buy it: saying, that such kind of lands only were lawful here to be bought and sold; and that this was not in the least litigious.

Having gotten both his consent and advice, I went on cheerfully with my purchase. The place also liked me wondrous well; it being a point of land standing into a corn-field, so that corn-fields were on three sides of it; and, just before my door, a little corn-ground belonging thereto, and very well watered: in the ground, besides eight cocoa-nut trees, there were all sorts of fruit-trees the country afforded. But it had been so

long desolate, that it was all overgrown with bushes, and no sign of a house therein.

The price of this land was five-and-twenty larees, that is, five dollars, a great sum of money in the account of this country; yet thanks be to God, who had so far enabled me after my late and great loss, that I was strong enough to lay this down. The terms of purchase being concluded on between us, a writing was made upon a leaf after that country manner, witnessed by seven or eight men of the best quality in the town: which was delivered to me, and I paid the money, and then took possession of the land: it lies some ten miles to the southward of the city of Candy, in the country of Oudaneur, in the town of Elledat.

Now I went about building a house upon my land, and was assisted by three of my countrymen that dwelt near by, Roger Gold, Ralph Knight, and Stephen Rutland, and in short time we finished it The country people were all well pleased

to see us thus busy ourselves about buying of land and building of houses, thinking it would tie our minds the faster to their country, and make us think the less upon our own.

Though I had built my new house, yet durst I not yet leave my old quarters in Laggendenny, but wait until a more convenient time fell out for that purpose. I went away therefore to my old home, and left my aforesaid three English neighbours to inhabit in it in my absence. Not long after I found a fit season to be gone to my estate at Elledat; and upon my going, the rest left the town also, and went and dwelt elsewhere, each one where he best liked. But by this means we all lost a privilege which we had before; which was, that our victuals were brought unto us, and now we were forced to go and fetch them ourselves; the people alleging (true enough) that they were not bound to carry our provisions about the country after us.

Being settled in my new house, I began to plant my ground full of all sorts of

fruit-trees; and, by the blessing of God, all grew and prospered, and yielded me great plenty and good increase, sufficient both for me and for those that dwelt with me: for the three Englishmen I left at my house when I departed back to Laggendenny, still lived with me. We were all single men; and we agreed very well together, and were helpful to one another. And for their help and assistance of me, I freely granted them liberty to use and enjoy whatsoever the ground afforded, as much as myself. And with a joint consent it was concluded amongst us, that only single men and bachelors should dwell there; and such as would not be conformable to this present agreement, should depart and absent himself from our society, and also forfeit his right and claim to the forementioned privilege; that is, to be cut off from all benefit of whatsoever the trees and ground afforded. I thought fit to make such a covenant, to exclude women from coming in among us, to prevent all strife and dissension, and to make all possible provision for the keeping up love and quietness among ourselves.

In this manner we four lived together some two years very lovingly and contentedly, not an ill word passing between us. We used to take turns in keeping at home, while the rest went forth about their business. For our house stood alone, and no neighbour near it; therefore we always left one within. The rest of the Englishmen lived round about us, some four or five miles distant, some more. So that we were, as it were, within reach of one another; which made us like our present situation the more.

Thus we lived upon the mountains, being round about us beset with watches, most of our people being now married: so that now all talk and suspicion of our running away was laid aside; neither indeed was it scarce possible. The effect of which was, that now we could walk from one to the other, or where we would upon the mountains, no man molesting or disturbing us in the least. So that we began to go about a-peddling and trading in the country farther towards the northward, carrying our caps about to sell.

By this time two of our company, seeing but little hopes of liberty, thought it too hard a task thus to lead a single life, and married: which when they had done, according to the former agreement, departed from us. So that our company was now reduced to two, viz. myself and Stephen Rutland; whose inclination and resolution was as steadfast as mine against marriage. And we parted not to the last, but came away together.

CHAP. VII.

A Return to the rest of the English, with some further Accounts of them—and some further Discourse of the Author's Course of Life.

LET us now make a visit to the rest of our countrymen, and see how they do. They reckoning themselves in for their lives, in order to their future settlement, were generally disposed to marry. Concerning which we have had many and sundry disputes among ourselves; as particularly concerning the lawfulness of matching with

heathens and idolaters, and whether the Chingulays marriages were any better than living in whoredom: there being no Christian priests to join them together, and it being allowed by their laws to change their wives and take others as often as they pleased. But these cases we solved for our own advantage, after this manner: that we were but flesh and blood, and that it is said, "It is better to marry than to burn;" and that, as far as we could see, we were cut off from all marriages any where else, even for our lifetime, and therefore that we must marry with these or with none at all. And when the people in Scripture were forbidden to take wives of strangers, it was then when they might intermarry with their own people, and so no necessity lay upon them; and that when they could not, there are examples in the Old Testament upon record, that they took wives of the daughters of the lands wherein they dwelt. These reasons being urged, there was none among us that could object aught against them, especially if those that were minded to marry women here, did take them for their wives during their

lives, as some of them say they do; and most of the women they marry are such as do profess themselves to be Christians.

As for mine own part, however lawful these marriages might be, yet I judged it far more convenient for me to abstain, and that it more redounded to my good, having always a reviving hope in me, that my God had not forsaken me, but, according to his gracious promise to the Jews, in the thirtieth chapter of Deuteronomy, and the beginning, would turn my captivity, and bring me into the land of my fathers. These and such-like meditations, together with my prayers to God, kept me from that unequal yoke of unbelievers, which several of my countrymen and fellow-prisoners put themselves under.

By this time our people having plied their business hard, had almost knit themselves out of work; and now caps were become a very dead commodity, which was the chief stay they had heretofore to trust to. So that now most of them betook themselves. to other employments

some to husbandry, ploughing ground, and sowing rice, and keeping cattle: others stilled rack to sell; others went about the country a-trading. For that which one part of the land affords is a good commodity to carry to another that wants it. And thus, with the help of a little allowance, they make a shift to subsist. Most of their wives spin cotton yarn, which is a great help to them for clothing, and at spare times also knit.

After this manner, by the blessing of God, our nation hath lived and still doth, in as good fashion as any other people or nation whatsoever, that are strangers here, or as any of the natives themselves, only the grandees and courtiers excepted. This I speak to the praise and glory of our God; who loves the stranger in giving him food and raiment; and that hath been pleased to give us favour and a good repute in the sight of our enemies. We cannot complain for want of justice in any wrongs we have sustained by the people; or that our cause hath been discountenanced; but rather we have been favoured above the natives themselves.

One of our men happened to be beaten by his neighbour; at which we were all very much concerned, taking it as a reproach to our nation, and fearing it might embolden others to do the like by the rest of us. Therefore, with joint consent, we all concluded to go to the court to complain, and to desire satisfaction from the Adigar: which we did. Upon this the man who had beat the Englishman was summoned in to appear before him: who seeing so many of us there, and fearing the cause would go very hard with him, to make the judge his friend, gave him a bribe. He, having received it, would have shifted off the punishment of the malefactor; but we day after day followed him from house to court, and from place to place, wherever he went, demanding justice and satisfaction for the wrong we received, showing the black and blue blows upon the Englishman's shoulders to all the rest of the noblemen at court. He, fearing therefore lest the King might be made acquainted herewith, was forced, though much against his will, to clap the Chingulay in chains: in which condition,

after he got him, he released him not till, besides the former fee, he had given him another.

Lately was Richard Varnham taken into the King's service, and held as honourable an employment as ever any Christian had in my time, being commander of nine hundred and seventy soldiers, and set over all the great guns; and besides this, several towns were under him: a place of no less profit than honour. The King gave him an excellent silver sword and halbert, the like to which the King never gave to any white man in my time. But he had the good luck to die a natural death: for, had not that prevented, in all probability he should have followed the two Englishmen that served him, spoken of before.

Some years since some of our nation took up arms under the King; which happened upon this occasion. The Hollanders had a small fort in the King's country, called Bibligom Fort. This the King minded to take and demolish, sent his army to besiege it: but being pretty

strong, for there were about ninety Dutchmen in it, besides a good number of black soldiers, and four guns, on each point one; being in this condition, it held out. Some of the great men informed the King of several Dutch runaways, in his land, that might be trusted, not daring to turn again for fear of the gallows, who might help to reduce the fort; and that also there were white men of other nations that had wives and children, from whom they would not run; and these might do him good service. Unto this advice the King inclined.

Whereupon the King made a declaration to invite the foreign nations into his service, against Bibligom Fort; that he would compel none; but such as were willing of their own free accord, the King would take it kindly, and they should be well rewarded. Now there entered into the King's service, upon this expedition, some of all nations, both Portuguese, Dutch, and English, about the number of thirty. To all that took arms he gave to the value of twenty shillings in money, and three pieces of calico for clothes, and commanded them to wear

breeches, hats, and doublets—a great honour there. The King intended a Dutchman, who had been an old servant to him, to be captain over them all. But the Portuguese not caring to be under the command of a Dutchman, desired a captain of their own nation, which the King granted, studying to please them at this time. But the English being but six, were too few to have a captain over them, and so were forced some to serve under the Dutch, and some under the Portuguese captain. There were no more of the English, because, being left at their liberty, they thought it safest to dwell at home, and cared not much to take arms under a heathen against Christians.

They were all ready to go, their arms and ammunition ready, with guns prepared to send down; but, before they went, tidings came that the fort yielded at the King's mercy. After this, the whites thought they had got an advantage of the King, in having these gifts for nothing; but the King did not intend to part with them so, but kept them

to watch at his gate. And now they are reduced to great poverty and necessity: for, since the King's first gift, they have never received any pay or allowance; though they have often made their addresses to him to supply their wants, signifying their forwardness to serve him faithfully. He speaks them fair, and tells them he will consider them, but does not in the least regard them. Many of them since, after three or four years' service, have been glad to get other poor runaway Dutchmen to serve in their steads, giving them as much money and clothes as they received of the King before; that so they might get free to come home to their wives and children.

The Dutch captain would afterwards have forced the rest of the English to have come under him, and called them traitors because they would not, and threatened them. But they scorned him, and bid him do his worst, but would never be persuaded to be soldiers under him; saying, that it was not so much his zeal to the King's service, as his own pride to make himself greater by having more men under him.

I will now turn to the progress of my own story. It was now about the year 1672. I related before that my family was reduced to two, myself and one honest man more. We lived solitarily and contentedly, being well settled in a good house of my own. Now we fell to breeding up goats: we began with two, but by the blessing of God they soon came to a good many; and their flesh served us instead of mutton. We kept hens and hogs also; and, seeing no sudden likelihood of liberty, we went about to make all things handsome and convenient about us; which might be serviceable to us while we lived there, and might further our liberty whensoever we should see an occasion to attempt it; which it did, in taking away all suspicion from the people concerning us: who not having wives as the others had, they might well think, lay the readier to take any advantage to make an escape. Which indeed we two did plot and consult about, between ourselves, with all imaginable privacy, long before we went away; and therefore we laboured by all means to hide our designs, and to free them from so much as suspicion.

We had now brought our house and ground to such a perfection, that few noblemen's seats in the land did excel us. On each side was a great thorn gate for entrance, which is the manner in that country: the gates of the city are of the same. We built also another house in the yard, all open for air, for ourselves to sit in, or any neighbours that came to talk with us. For seldom should we be alone, our neighbours oftener frequenting our house than we desired; out of whom to be sure we could pick no profit: for their coming is always either to beg or borrow. For although we were strangers and prisoners in their land, yet they would confess that Almighty God had dealt far more bountifully with us than with them, in that we had a far greater plenty of all things than they.

I now began to set up a new trade: for the trade of knitting was grown dead, and husbandry I could not follow, not having a wife to help and assist me therein, a great part of husbandry properly belonging to the woman to manage. Whereupon I perceived a trade in use among them,

which was to lend out corn: the benefit of which is fifty per cent. per annum. This I saw to be the easiest and most profitable way of living, whereupon I took in hand to follow it; and what stock I had, I converted into corn, or rice in the husk. And now as customers came for corn, I let them have it, to receive their next harvest, when their own corn was ripe, the same quantity I lent them, and half as much more. But as the profit is great, so is the trouble of getting it in also: for he that useth this trade must watch when the debtor's field is ripe, and claim his due in time; otherwise, other creditors, coming before, will seize all upon the account of their debts, and leave no corn at all for those that come later. For these that come thus a-borrowing generally carry none of their corn home when it is ripe, for their creditors ease them of that labour by coming into their fields and taking it, and commonly they have not half enough to pay what they owe. So that they that miss getting their debts this year must stay till the next, when it will be double, two measures for one; but

the interest never runs up higher, though the debt lie seven years unpaid. By means hereof I was put to a great deal of trouble, and was forced to watch early and late to get my debts, and many times miss of them after all my pains. Howbeit, when my stock did increase that I had dealings with many, I mattered not if I lost in some places, the profit of the rest was sufficient to bear that out.

And thus, by the blessing of God, my little was increased to a great deal. For he had blessed me so, that I was able to lend to my enemies, and had no need to borrow of them. So that I might use the words of Jacob, not out of pride of myself, but thankfulness to God, That he brought me hither with my staff, and blessed me so here, that I became two bands.

For some years together, after I removed to my own house from Laggendenny, the people from whence I came continued my allowance that I had when I lived among them; but now in plain terms they told me they could give it me no more, and that I was better able to live without it than they

to give it me. Which though I knew to be true, yet I thought not fit to lose that portion of allowance which the King was pleased to allot me. Therefore I went to court and appealed to the Adigar, to whom such matters did belong; who, upon consideration of the people's poor condition, appointed me monthly to come to him at the King's palace, for a ticket, to receive my allowance out of the King's storehouses. Hereby I was brought into a great danger, out of which I had much ado to escape, and that with the loss of my allowance for ever after. I shall relate the manner of it in the next chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Author had like to have been received into the King's Service, and what Means he used to avoid it—He meditates and attempts an Escape, but is often prevented.

THIS frequent appearance at the court, and waiting there for my tickets, brought me to be taken notice of by the

great men: insomuch that they wondered I had been all this while forgotten, and never been brought before the King, being so fit, as they would suppose me, for his use and service, saying, that from henceforward I should fare better than that allowance amounted to, as soon as the King was made acquainted with me. Which words of theirs served instead of a ticket. Whereupon, fearing I should suddenly be brought in to the King, which thing I most of all feared, and least desired, and hoping that out of sight might prove out of mind, I resolved to forsake the court, and never more to ask for tickets, especially seeing God had dealt so bountifully with me as to give me ability to live well enough without them. As when Israel had eaten of the corn of the land of Canaan, the manna ceased; so when I was driven to forego my allowance that had all this while sustained me in this wilderness, God otherwise provided for me.

From this time forward to the time of my flight out of the land, which was five years, I neither had nor demanded any more allowance, and glad I was that I could

escape so; but I must have more trouble first. For some four or five days after my last coming from court, there came a soldier to me, sent from the Adigar, with an order in writing under his hand, that upon sight thereof I should immediately despatch and come to the court, to make my personal appearance before the King; and in case of any delay, the officers of the country were thereby authorized and commanded to assist the bearer, and to see the same order speedily performed.

The chief occasion of this had been a person, not long before my near neighbour and acquaintance, Oua Matteral by name, who knew my manner of life, and had often been at my house; but now was taken in and employed at court; and he, out of friendship and good-will to me, was one of the chief actors in this business, that he might bring me to preferment at court.

Upon the abovesaid summons there was no remedy, but to court I must go: where I first applied myself to my said old neighbour, Oua Matteral, who was the occasion

of sending for me. I signified to him that I was come in obedience to the warrant, and I desired to know the reason why I was sent for? To which he answered, "Here is good news for you: you are to appear in the King's presence, where you will find great favour and honourable entertainment, far more than any of your countrymen yet here found." Which the great man thought would be a strong inducement to persuade me joyfully to accept of the King's employments. But this was the thing I always most dreaded, and endeavoured to shun, knowing that being taken into court would be a means to cut off all hopes of liberty from me, which was the thing I esteemed equal unto life itself.

Seeing myself brought unto this pass, wherein I had no earthly helper, I recommended my cause to God, desiring Him in whose hands are the hearts of kings and princes to divert the business. And my cause being just and right, I was resolved to persist in a denial. My case seemed to me to be like that of the four lepers at the gate of Samaria. No avoiding of death

for me. If out of ambition and honour I should have embraced the King's service, besides the depriving myself of all hopes of liberty, in the end I must be put to death, as happens to all that serve him; and to deny his service could be but death. And it seemed to me to be the better death of the two. For if I should be put to death only because I refused his service, I should be pitied as one that died innocently; but if I should be executed in his service, however innocent I was, I should be certainly reckoned a rebel and traitor, as they all are whom he commands to be cut off

Upon these considerations, having thus set my resolutions, as God enabled me, I returned him this answer: first, That the English nation, to whom I belonged, had never done any violence or wrong to their King, either in word or deed. Secondly, That the cause of my coming on their land was not like to that of other nations, who were either enemies taken in war, or such as, by reason of poverty or distress, were driven to sue for relief out of the King's bountiful liberality, or such as fled

for the fear of deserved punishment; whereas, as they all well knew, I came not upon any of these causes, but upon account of trade, and came ashore to receive the King's orders, which by notice we understood were come concerning us, and to render and account to the Dissauva of the reasons and occasions of our coming into the King's port. And that by the grief and sorrow I had undergone, by being so long detained from my native country (but, for which I thanked the King's Majesty, without want of any thing), I scarcely enjoyed myself; for my heart was always absent from my body: hereunto adding my insufficiency and inability for such honourable employment, being subject to many infirmities and diseases of body.

To this he replied, "Cannot you read and write English? Servile labour the King requireth not of you." I answered, When I came ashore I was but young, and that which then I knew, now I had forgot for want of practice, having had neither ink nor paper ever since I came ashore. I urged moreover, that it was contrary to the custom and practice of a'l kings and

princes upon the earth to keep and detain men that came into their countries upon such peaceable accounts as we did; much less to compel them to serve them beyond their power and ability.

At my first coming before him, he looked very pleasingly, and spake with a smiling countenance to me; but now his smiles were turned into frowns, and his pleasing looks into bended brows, and in rough language he bade me begone and tell my tale to the Adigar: which immediately I did; but he being busy, did not much regard me, and I was glad of it, that I might absent the court; but I durst not go out of the city. Sore afraid I was that evil would befal me, and the best I could expect was to be put in chains. All my refuge was prayer to God, whose hand was not shortened that it could not save, and would make all things work together for good to them that trust in him. From him only did I expect help and deliverance in this time of need.

In this manner I lodged in an Englishman's house, that dwelt in the city,

about ten days, maintaining myself at my own charge, waiting with a sorrowful heart, and daily expecting to hear my doom. In the mean time my countrymen and acquaintance, some of them, blamed me for refusing so fair a proffer; whereby I might not only have lived well myself, but also have been helpful unto my poor countrymen and friends; others of them pitying me, expecting, as I did, nothing but a wrathful sentence from so cruel a tyrant, if God did not prevent. And Richard Varnham, who was at this time a great man about the King, was not a little scared to see me run the hazard of what might ensue, rather than be partaker with him in the felicities of the court.

It being chargeable thus to lie at the city, and hearing nothing more of my business, I took leave without asking, and went home to my house, which was but a day's distance, to get some victuals to carry with me, and to return again; but soon after I came home I was sent for again. So I took my load of victuals with me, and arrived at the city, but went not to the court, but to my former

lodging, where I stayed as formerly, until I had spent all my provisions; and by the good hand of my God upon me, I never heard any more of that matter: neither came I any more into the presence of the great men at court, but dwelt in my own plantation, upon what God provided for me by my labour and industry.

For now I returned to my former course of life, dressing my victuals daily with mine own hands, fetching both wood and water upon mine own back; and this, for aught I could see to the contrary, I was like to continue for my lifetime. This I could do for the present, but I began to consider how helpless I should be, if it should please God I should live till I grew old and feeble. So I entered upon a consultation with myself for the providing against this. One way was the getting of me a wife, but that I was resolved never to do. Then I began to inquire for some poor body to live with me, to dress my victuals for me, that I might live at a little more ease, but could not find any to my mind. Whereupon I

considered, that there was no better way than to take one of my poor countrymen's children, whom I might bring up to learn both my own language and religion. And this might be not only charity to the child, but a kindness to myself also afterwards: and several there were that would be glad so to be eased of their charge, having more than they could well maintain; a child therefore I took, by whose aptness, ingenuity, and company as I was much delighted at present, so afterwards I hoped to be served.

It was now about the year 1673. Although I had now lived many years in this land, and God be praised, I wanted for nothing the land afforded, yet could I not forget my native country England, and lamented under the famine of God's word and sacraments, the want whereof I found greater than all earthly wants: and my daily and fervent prayers to God were, in his good time to restore me to the enjoyment of them.

I and my companion were still meditating upon our escape and the means to

compass it; which our peddling about the country did greatly forward and promote. For, speaking well the language, and going with our commodities from place to place, we used often to entertain discourse with the country-people; viz. concerning the ways and the countries, and where there were most and fewest inhabitants, and where and how the watches lay from one country to another; and what commodities were proper to carry from one part to the other, pretending we would from time to time go from one place to another, to furnish ourselves with ware that the respective places afforded. None doubted but we had made these inquiries for the sake of our trade, but ourselves had other designs in them. Neither was there the least suspicion of us for these our questions: all supposing I would never run away and leave such an estate, as in their accounts and esteem I had.

By diligent inquiry I had come to under stand, that the easiest and most probable way to make an escape was by travelling to the northward, that part of the land being least inhabited. Therefore we

furnished ourselves with such wares as were vendible in those parts, as tobacco, pepper, garlick, combs, all sorts of iron-ware, &c.; and being laden with these things, we two set forth, bending our course towards the northern parts of the island, knowing very little of the way; and the ways of this country generally are intricate and difficult: here being no great highways that run through the land, but a multitude of little paths, some from one town to another, some into the fields, and some into the woods where they sow their corn; and the whole country covered with woods, that a man cannot see any thing but just before him. And that which makes them most difficult of all is, that the ways shift and alter, new ways often made and old ways stopped up. For they cut down woods and sow the ground, and having got one crop off from it, they leave it, and wood soon grows over it again: and in case a road went through those woods, they stop it, and contrive another way; neither do they regard though it goes two or three miles about: and to ask and inquire the way for us white men is very dangerous,

it occasioning the people to suspect us. And the Chingulays themselves never travel in countries where they are not experienced in the ways without a guide, it being so difficult: and there was no getting a guide to conduct us down to the sea.

But we made a shift to travel from Candy Uda downwards towards the north from town to town; happening at a place at last which I knew before, having been brought up formerly from Cooswat that way, to descend the hill called Bocaul, where there is no watch, but in time of great disturbance. Thus by the providence of God we passed all difficulties until we came into the county of Neurecalava, which are the lowest parts that belong to this King, and some three days' journey from the place whence we came.

We were not a little glad that we were gotten so far onwards in our way, but yet at this time we could go no farther, for our ware was all sold, and we could pretend no more excuses; and also we had been out so long, that it might cause our townsmen to come and look after

us, it being the first time that we had been so long absent from home.

In this manner we went into these northern parts eight or ten times, and once got as far as Hourly, a town in the extremities of the King's dominions, but yet we could not attain our purpose; for this northern country being much subject to dry weather, and having no springs, we were fain to drink of ponds of rain-water, wherein the cattle lie and tumble, which would be so thick and muddy, that the very filth would hang in our beards when we drank. This did not agree with our bodies, being used to drink pure spring water only. By which means, when we first used those parts, we used often to be sick of violent fevers and agues, when we came home. Which diseases happened not only to us, but to all other people that dwelt upon the mountains, as we did, whensoever they went down into those places; and commonly the major part of those that fall sick, die: at which the Chingulays are so scared, that it is very seldom they do adventure their bodies down thither: neither truly would

I have done it, were it not for those future hopes, which God of his mercy did at length accomplish. For both of us smarted sufficiently by those severe fevers we got, when we should both lie sick together, and one not able to help the other: insomuch, that our countrymen and neighbours used to ask us, if we went thither purposing to destroy ourselves, they little thinking, and we not daring to tell them our intent and design.

At length we learned an antidote and counter-poision against the filthy venomous water, which so operated by the blessing of God, that after the use of thereof we had no more sickness. It is only a dry leaf (they call it in Portuguese, Banga), beaten to powder, with some of the country jaggory; and this we ate morning and evening, upon an empty stomach: it intoxicates the brain, and makes one giddy, without any other operation either by stool or vomit.

Thus every voyage we gathered more experience, and got lower down; for this is a large and spacious country. We

travelled to and fro where the ways led us, according to their own proverb, "The beggar and the merchant is never out of his way;" because the one begs and the other trades wherever they go. Thus we used to ramble until we had sold all our ware, and then went home for more. And by these means we grew acquainted both with the people and the paths.

In these parts I met with my black boy, whom I had divers years before turned away, who had now wife and children. He proved a great help to me in directing me in the ways; for he had lived many years in these parts. Perceiving him to be able, and also in a very poor and sad condition, not able to maintain his family; I adventured once to ask him, if a good reward would not be welcome to him, for guiding us two down to the Dutch; which having done, he might return again, and nobody the wiser. At which proposition he seemed to be very joyful, and promised to undertake the same: only at this time, for reasons he alleged, which to me seemed probable, as that it was harvest-time and many

people about it, it could not so safely and conveniently be done now, as it might be some two months after.

The business was concluded upon, and the time appointed between us; but it so fell out, that at the very precise time, all things being ready to depart on the morrow, it pleased God, whose time was not yet come, to strike me with a most grievous pain in the hollow on my right side, that for five days together I was not able to stir from the fireside; but by warming it, and fomenting and chafing it, I got a little ease.

Afterward, as soon as I was recovered, and got strength, we went down and carried one Englishman more with us for company, for our better security, seeing we must travel in the night upon our flight: but though we took him with us, we dared not to tell him of our design, because he had a wife, intending not to acquaint him with it, till the business was just ready to be put into action. But when he came, expecting to meet with our guide, he was gone into another country, and we knew not where

to find him, and we knew not how to run away without him. Thus we were disappointed that time.

But, as formerly, we went to and fro until we had sold our ware, and so returned home again and delivered the man to his wife; but never told him any thing of our intended design, fearing lest, if he knew it, he might acquaint her with it, and so all our purposes coming to be revealed might be overthrown for ever afterwards: for we were resolved, by God's help, still to persevere in our design

Some eight or nine years one after another we followed this trade, going down into this country on purpose to seek to get beyond the inhabitants, and so to run away through the woods to the Hollanders. Three or four years together the dry weather prevented us; when the country was almost starved for want of rain: all which time they never tilled the ground. The wells also were almost all dry; so that in the towns we could scarcely get water to drink, or victuals to eat; which affrighted us at those times from running into the

woods, lest we might perish for thirst. All this while upon the mountains, where our dwelling was, there was no want of rain.

We found it an inconvenience when we came three of us down together, reckoning it might give occasion to the people to suspect our design, and so prevent us from going thither again. Some of the English, that followed such a trade as we, had been down that way with their commodities; but having felt the smart of that country's sickness, would go there no more, finding as much profit in nearer and easier journies. But we still persisted in our courses this way, having some greater matter to do here than to sell wares, viz. to find out this northern discovery; which in God's good time we did effect.

CHAP. IX.

How the Author began his Escape, and got onward of his Way about an hundred Miles.

HAVING often gone this way to seek for libe ty, but could not yet find it, we again set forth to try what success

God Almighty would now give us, in the year 1679, on the two-and-twentieth of September, furnished with such arms as we could well carry with safety and secrecy, which were knives and small axes; we carried also several sorts of ware to sell, as formerly: the moon being seven-and-twenty days old: which we had so contrived, that we might have a light moon, to see the better to run away by; having left an old man at home, whom I hired to live with me, to look after my house and goats.

We went down at the hill Bocaul, where there was now no watch, and but seldom any; from thence down to the town of Bonder Cooswat, where my father died; and by the town of Nicavar, which is the last town belonging to Hotcurly in that road. From thenceforward the towns stand thin; for it was sixteen miles to the next town, called Parroah, which lay in the country of Neurecalava, and all the way through a wilderness called Parroah Mocolane, full of wild elephants, tigers, and bears.

Now we set our design for Anarodgburro, which is the lowest place inhabited belonging to the King of Candy; where there is a watch always kept: and nearer than twelve or fourteen miles of this town as yet we never had been.

When we came into the midst of this country, we heard that the governor thereof had sent officers from the court to despatch away the King's revenues and duties to the city, and that they were now come into the country: which put us into no small fear, lest, if they saw us, they should send us back again. Wherefore we edged away into the westernmost parts of Ecpoulpot, being a remote part of that country wherein we now were; and there we sat to knitting until we heard they were gone. But this caused us to overshoot our time, the moon spending so fast. But as soon as we heard they were departed out of the country, we went onwards of our journey, having kept most of our ware for a pretence to have an occasion to go further. And having bought a good parcel of cotton yarn, to knit caps withal, the rest of our

ware, we gave out, was to buy dried flesh with, which only in those lower parts is to be sold.

Our way now lay necessarily through the chief governor's yard at Coliwilla: who dwells there purposely to see and examine all that go and come. This greatly distressed us: first, because he was stranger to us, and one whom we had never seen; and secondly, because there was no other way to escape him; and plain reason would tell him that we, being prisoners, were without our bounds. Whereupon we concluded that our best way would be to go boldly and resolutely to his house, and not to seem daunted in the least, or to look as if we did distrust him to disallow of our journey, but to show such a behaviour, as if we had authority to travel where we would.

So we went forward, and were forced to inquire and ask the way to his house, having never been so far this way before. I brought from home with me knives with fine carved handles, and a red Tunis cap, purposely to sell or give him, if

occasion required, knowing before that we must pass by him. And all along as we went, that we might be the less suspected, we sold caps and other ware, to be paid for at our return homewards. There were many cross paths to and fro to his house; yet, by God's providence, we happened in the right road; and, having reached his house, according to the country manner, we went and sate down in the open house; which kind of houses are built on purpose for the reception of strangers. Whither, not long after, the great man himself came and sate down by us; to whom we presented a small parcel of tobacco and some betel. And before he asked us the cause of our coming, we showed him the ware we brought for him, and the cotton yarn which we had trucked about the country; telling him withal how the case stood with us: viz. that we had a charge greater than the King's allowance would maintain; and that because dried flesh was the chief commodity of that part (we told him), that missing of the lading which we used to carry back, we were glad

to come thither to see if we could make it up with dried flesh; and therefore if he would please to supply us either for such ware as we had brought, or else for our money, it would be a great favour, the which would oblige us for the future to bring him any necessaries that he should name unto us, when we should come again unto those parts, as we used to do very often; and that we could furnish him, having dealings and being acquainted with the best artificers in Candy.

At which he replied, that he was sorry we were come at such a dry time, wherein they could not catch deer; but if some rain fell, he would soon despatch us with our ladings of flesh. But, however, he bade us go about the towns, and see whether there might be any or no, though he thought there was none. This answer of his pleased us wondrous well, both because by this we saw he suspected us not, and because he told us there was no dried flesh to be got. For it was one of our greatest fears that we should get our lading too soon: for then we could not have had an excuse to go further; and as yet we

could not possibly fly ; having still six miles further to the northward to go before we could attempt it, that is, to Anarodgburro.

From Anarodgburro it is two days' journey further, through a desolate wilderness, before there are any more inhabitants ; and these inhabitants are neither under this King nor the Dutch, but are Malabars, and are under a prince of there own. This people we were sorely afraid of, lest they might seize us and send us back, there being a correspondence between this prince and the King of Candy : wherefore it was our endeavour by all means to shun them ; lest according to the old proverb, we might leap out of the frying-pan into the fire.

But we must take care of that as well as we could when we came among them, for as yet our care was to get to Anarodgburro. Where although it was our desire to get, yet we could not seem to be too hasty, lest it might occasion suspicion ; but lay where we were two or three days : and one stayed at the governor's house a-knitting, whilst the other went about among the

towns to see for flesh. The ponds in the country being now dry, there was fish every where in abundance, which they dry like red herrings over a fire. They offered to sell us store of them; but they, we told them, would not turn to so good profit as flesh: the which, we said, we would have, though we stayed ten days longer for it; for here we could live as cheap, and earn as much as if we were at home, by our knitting. So we seemed to them as if we were not in any haste.

In the mean time happened an accident, which put us to a great fright. For the King having newly clapped up several persons of quality, whereof my old neighbour Oua Matteral, that sent for me to court, was one, sent down soldiers to this high sheriff or governor, at whose house we now were, to give him order to set a secure guard at the watches, that no suspicious persons might pass. This he did to prevent the relations of these imprisoned persons from making an escape, who through fear of the King might attempt it. This always is the King's custom to do. But it put us into an

exceeding fear, lest it might beget an admiration in these soldiers to see white men so low down: which indeed is not customary nor allowed of; and so they might send us up again: which doubtless they would have done, had it not been of God by this means and after this manner to deliver us; especially considering that the King's command came just at that time, and so expressly to keep a secure guard at the watches, and that in that very way that always we purposed to go in: so that it seemed scarcely possible for us to pass afterwards, though we should get off fairly at present with the soldiers: which we did; for they having delivered their message, departed, showing themselves very kind and civil unto us. And we seemed to lament for our hard fortune, that we were uot ready to go upwards with them, in their good company: for we were neighbours, dwelling in one and the same county. However, we bid them carry our commendations to our countrymen the English, with whom they were acquainted at the city, and so bade them farewell: and glad we were when they

were gone from us. And the next day in the morning we resolved, God willing, to set forward; but we thought not fit to tell our host, the governor, of it, till the very instant of our departing, that he might not have any time to deliberate concerning us.

That night he being disposed to be merry, sent for people whose trade it is to dance and show tricks, to come to his house to entertain him with their sports. The beholding them spent most part of the night; which we merrily called our old host's civility to us at our last parting: as it proved indeed, though he, honest man, then little dreamed of any such thing.

The morning being come, we first took care to fill our bellies; then we packed up those things which were necessary for our journey to carry with us, and the rest of our goods, cotton yarn, and cloth and other things, that we would not encumber ourselves withal, we bound up in a bundle, intending to leave them behind us. This being done, I went to the governor, and carried him four or five charges of gunpowder, a thing somewhat

scarce with them, entreating him, rather than we should be disappointed of flesh, to make use of that, and shoot some deer; which he was very willing to accept of, and to us it could be no-ways profitable, not having a gun: while we, we told him, would make a step to Anarodgburro, to see what flesh we could procure there. In the mean time, according as we had before laid the business, came Stephen with the bundle of goods, desiring to leave them in his house till we came back: which he was very ready to grant us leave to do. And seeing us leave such a parcel of goods, though, God knows, but of little account in themselves, yet of considerable value in that land, he could not suppose otherwise but that we were intended to return again. Thus we took our leaves, and immediately departed, not giving him time to consider with himself, or consult with others about us. And he, like a good-natured man, bid us heartily farewell.

Although we knew not the way to this town, having never been there in all our lives, and durst not ask, lest it might breed suspicion; yet we went on confidently

through a desolate wood, and happened to go very right, and came out directly at the place.

But in our way, before we arrived hither, we came up with a small river, which ran through the woods, called by the Chingulays Malwat Oyah: the which we viewed well, and judged it might be a probable guide to carry us down to the sea, if a better did not present. Howbeit, we thought good to try first the way we were taking, and to go onward towards Anarodgburro, that being the shortest and easiest way to get to the coast: and this river being as under our lee, ready to serve and assist us, if other means failed.

To Anarodgburro therefore we came, called also Neur Waug; which is not so much a particular single town, as a territory. It is a vast great plain, the like I never saw in all that island: in the midst whereof is a lake, which may be a mile over, not natural, but made by art, as other ponds in the country, to serve them to water their corn-grounds. This plain is encompassed round with woods, and small

towns among them on every side, inhabited by Malabars, a distinct people from the Chingulays. But these towns we could not see till we came in among them. Being come out through the woods into this plain, we stood looking and staring round about us, but knew not where nor which way to go. At length we heard a cock crow, which was a sure sign to us that there was a town hard by; into which we were resolved to enter. For standing thus amazed was the ready way to be taken up for suspicious persons, especially because white men never come down so low.

Being entered into this town, we sate ourselves under a tree, and proclaimed our wares, for we feared to rush into their yards, as we used to do in other places, lest we should scare them. The people stood amazed as soon as they saw us, being originally Malabars, though subjects of Candy. Nor could they understand the Chingulay language, in which we spake to them. And we stood looking one upon another until there came one that could speak the Chingulay tongue: who asked us, from whence we

came? We told him, from Candy Uda. But they believed us not, supposing that we came up from the Dutch, from Manaar: so they brought us before their Governor. He not speaking Chingulais, spake to us by an interpreter. And to know the truth, whether we came from the place we pretended, he inquired about news at court; demanded, who were governors of such and such countries? and what was become of some certain noblemen, whom the King had lately cut off? and also, what the common people were employed about at court? for it is seldom that they are idle. To all which we gave satisfactory answers. Then he inquired of us, who gave us leave to come down so low? We told him, that privilege was given to us by the King himself, full fifteen years since, at his palace at Nellemby, when he caused it to be declared unto us, that we were no longer prisoners, and (which indeed was our own addition) that we were free to enjoy the benefit of trade in all his dominions.

To prove and confirm the truth of which, we alleged the distance of the way

that we were now come from home, being near an hundred miles, passing through several counties, where we met with several governors and officers in their respective jurisdictions; who, had they not been well sensible of these privileges granted to us, would not have allowed us to pass through their countries. All which officers we described to him by name; and also that now we came from the high sheriff's house at Colliwilla, where we had been these three days, and there heard of the order that was come to secure the watches; which was not for fear of the running away of white men, but of the Chingulays. These reasons gave him full satisfaction, that we were innocent traders, seeing also the commodities that we had brought with us: this further confirmed his opinion concerning us.

The people were very glad of our coming, and gave us an end of an open house to lie in: but at present they had no dried flesh, but desired us to stay two or three days, and we should not fail; which we were very ready to consent to, hoping by that time to come to the knowledge of

the way, and to learn whereabout the watch was placed. To prevent the least surmise that we were plotting to run away, we agreed, that Stephen should stay in the house by the things, while I with some few went abroad; pretending to inquire for dried flesh to carry back with us to Candy, but intending to make discoveries of the way, and provide necessaries for our flight, as rice, a brass pot to boil our rice in, a little dried flesh to eat, and a deer's skin to make us shoes of. And, by the providence of my gracious God, all these things I happened upon and bought. But as our good hap was, deer's flesh we could meet with none. So that we had time enough to fit ourselves; all people thinking that we stayed only to buy flesh.

Here we stayed three days; during which we had found the great road that runs down towards Jafnapatam, one of the northern ports belonging to the Dutch, which road we judged led also towards Manaar, a Dutch northern port also, which was the place that we endeavoured to get to, lying above two or three days' journey distant from us. But in this road

there was a watch lay, which must be passed. Where this watch was placed, it was necessary for us punctually to know, and to endeavour to get a sight of it. And if we could do this, our intent was to go unseen by night, the people being then afraid to travel, and being come up to the watch, to slip aside into the woods, and so go on until we were past it; and then strike into the road again. But this project came to nothing, because I could not without suspicion and danger go and view this watch; which lay some four or five miles below this plain; and so far I could not frame any business to go.

But several inconveniences we saw here, insomuch that we found it would not be safe for us to go down in this road. For if we should have slipt away from them by night, in the morning we should be missed, and then most surely they would go that way to chase us, and ten to one overtake us, being but one night before them. Also, we knew not whether or no it might lead us into the country of the Malabar prince, of whom we were much afraid.

Then resolving to let the great road alone, we thought of going right down through the woods, and steer our course by the sun and moon; but the ground being so dry, we feared we should not meet with water: so we declined that counsel also. Thus being in doubt, we prayed God to direct us, and to put it into our hearts which way to take. Then, after a consultation between ourselves, all things considered, we concluded it the best course to go back to Malwat Oyah, the river we had well viewed that lay in our way as we came hither. And back thither we resolved to repair.

CHAP. X.

The Author's Progress in his Flight from Anarodgburro into the Woods, unto their Arrival in the Malabars' Country.

NOW God of his mercy having prospered our design hitherto, for which we blessed his holy name, our next care was, how to come off clear from the people of Anarodgburro, that they might not present-

ly miss us, and so pursue after us: which if they should do, there would have been no escaping them; for from his town to Colliwilla, where the sheriff lived with whom we left our goods, they are as well acquainted in the woods as in the paths; and when we came away we must tell the people that we were going thither, because there is no other way but that. Now our fear was, lest upon some occasion or other any men might chance to travel that way soon after we were gone, and not finding us at Colliwilla, might conclude, as they could do no otherwise, that we were run into the woods. Therefore, to avoid this danger, we stayed in the town till it was so late, that we knew none durst venture to travel afterwards for fear of wild beasts: by which means we were sure to gain a night's travel at least, if they should chance to pursue us.

So we took our leaves of the governor, who kindly gave us a pot of milk to drink, for a farewell; we telling him, we were returning back to the sheriff at Colliwilla, to whom we had given some gunpowder when we came from him to shoot us some

deer, and we doubted not but by that time we should get to him, he would have provided flesh enough for our lading home. Thus bidding him and the rest of the neighbours farewell, we departed, they giving us the civility of their accustomed prayers, Diabac, that is, God bless, or keep you.

It was now the twelfth day of October, on a Sunday, the moon eighteen days old. We were well furnished with all things needful, which we could get, viz. ten days' provision, rice, flesh, fish, pepper, salt, a basin to boil our victuals in, two calabashes to fetch water, two great tallipats for tents, big enough to sleep under if it should rain, jaggory and sweetmeats, which we brought from home with us, tobacco also and betel, tinder-boxes two or three for failing, and a deer's skin to make us shoes, to prevent any thorns running into our feet as we travelled through the woods; for our greatest trust under God was to our feet. Our weapons were, each man a small axe fastened to a long staff in our hands, and a good knife by our sides. Which were sufficient, with God's help, to defend us

from the assaults of either tiger or bear; and as for elephants, there is no standing against them, but the best defence is to flee from them.

In this posture and equipage we marched forward. When we were come within a mile of this river, it being about four in the evening, we began to fear, lest any of the people of Anarodgburro, from whence we came, should follow us to Colliwilla; which place we never intended to come at more; the river, along which we intended to go, lying on this side of it. That we might be secure therefore that no people came after us, we sat down upon a rock, by a hole that was full of water, in the highway, until it was so late, that we were sure no people durst travel. In case any had come after us, and seen us sitting there and gotten no further, we intended to tell them, that one of us was taken sick by the way, and therefore not able to go. But it was our happy chance there came none. So about sundown we took up our sacks of provisions, and marched forward for the river, which, under God, we had pitched upon to be our guide down to the sea.

Being come at the river, we left the road and struck into the woods by the river-side. We were exceedingly careful not to tread on the sand or soft ground, lest our footsteps should be seen; and where it could not be avoided we went backwards, so that by the print of our feet it seemed as if we had gone the contrary way. We were now gotten a good way into the wood; when it grew dark and began to rain, so that we thought it best to pitch our tents, and get wood for firing before it was all wet, and too dark to find it: which we did, and kindled a fire.

Then we began to fit ourselves for our journey against the moon arose. All our sale-wares, which we had left, we cast away (for we took care not to sell too much), keeping only provisions and what was very necessary for our journey. About our feet we tied pieces of deer's hide, to prevent thorns and stumps annoying our feet. We always used to travel barefoot, but now being to travel by night, and in the woods, we feared so to do. or if our feet should fail us now, we

were quite undone. And by the time we had well fitted ourselves, and were refreshed with a morsel of Portuguese sweetmeats, the moon began to shine. So having commended ourselves into the hands of the Almighty, we took up our provisions upon our shoulders, and set forward, and travelled some three or four hours, but with a great deal of difficulty; for the trees being thick, the moon gave but little light through; but our resolution was to keep going.

Now it was our chance to meet with an elephant in our way, just before us: which we tried, but could not scare away: so he forced us to stay. We kindled a fire and sat down, and took a pipe of tobacco, waiting till morning. Then we looked round about us, and it appeared all like a wilderness, and no sign that people ever had been there; which put us in great hopes that we had gained our passage, and were past all the inhabitants. Whereupon we concluded that we were now in no danger of being seen, and might travel in the day securely. There was only one great road in our way, which led to

Portaloon from the towns which by and by we fell into; this road therefore we were shy of, lest, when we passed it over, some passengers travelling in it, might see us; and this road we were in expectance about this time to meet withal, secure, as I said before, of all other danger of people. But the river winding about to the northward brought us into the midst of a parcel of towns, called Tissea Wava, before we were aware. For the country being all woods, we could not discern where there were towns, until we came within the hearing of them. That which betrayed us into this danger was, that meeting with a path, which only led from one town to another, we concluded it to be that great road above mentioned; and so having passed it over, we supposed the danger we might encounter in being seen, was also past over with it; but we were mistaken; for, going further, we still met with other paths, which we crossed over, still hoping one or other of them was that great road: but at last we perceived our error; viz. that they were only paths that went from one town to another. And so while we

were avoiding men and towns, we ran into the midst of them. This was a great trouble to us, hearing the noise of people round about us, and knew not how to avoid them; into whose hands we knew if we had fallen, they would have carried us up to the King, besides beating and plundering us to boot.

We knew before that these towns were hereaway, but had we known that this river turned and run in among them, we should never have undertaken the enterprise. But now to go back, after we had newly passed so many paths, and fields, and places where people did resort, we thought not advisable, and that the danger in so doing might be greater than in going forward. And had we known so much then, as afterwards did appear to us, it had been safer for us to have gone on, than to have hid there as we did; which we then thought was the best course we could take for the present extremity; viz. to secure ourselves in secret until night, and then to run through in the dark. All that we now wanted was a hole to

creep in to lie close, for the woods thereabouts were thin, and no shrubs or bushes, under which we might be concealed.

We heard the noise of people on every side, and expected every moment to see some of them to our great terror. And it is not easy to say in what danger, and in what apprehension of it we were: it was not safe for us to stir backwards or forwards for fear of running among people, and it was as unsafe to stand still where we were, lest somebody might spy us; and where to find covert we could not tell. Looking about us, in these straits, we spied a great tree by us, which, for the bigness thereof, it is probable might be hollow: to which we went, and found it so. It was like a tub, some three foot high. Into it immediately we both crept, and made a shift to sit there for several hours, though very uneasily, and all in mud and wet; but, however, it did greatly comfort us in the fright and amazement we were in.

So soon as it began to grow dark, we came creeping out of our hollow tree, and

put for it as fast as our legs could carry us; and then we crossed that great road which all the day before we did expect to come up with, keeping close by the river-side, and going so long till dark night stopped us. We kept going the longer, because we heard the voice of men hollowing, towards evening: which created us a fresh disturbance, thinking them to be people that were coming to chase us. But at length we heard elephants behind us, between us and the voice, which we knew by the noise of cracking the boughs and small trees, which they break down and eat. These elephants were a very good guard behind us; and were, methought, like the darkness that came between Israel and the Egyptians. For the people, we knew, would not dare to go forwards, hearing elephants before them.

In this security we pitched our tents by the river-side, and boiled rice and roasted flesh for our supper, for we were very hungry; and so commending ourselves to God's keeping, lay down to sleep. The

voice which we heard still continued, which lasting so long, we knew what it meant; it was nothing but the hollowing of people that lay to watch the corn-fields, to scare away the wild beasts out of their corn. Thus we passed Monday.

But nevertheless next morning, so soon as the moon shone out bright, to prevent the worst, we took up our packs and were gone: being past all the tame inhabitants, with whom we had no more trouble; but the next day we feared we should come among the wild ones, for these woods are full of them. Of these we were as much afraid as of the other; for they would have carried us back to the King, where we should be kept prisoners: but these we feared would have shot us, not standing to hear us plead for ourselves. And indeed all along as we went, by the sides of the river, till we came to the Malabar inhabitants, had been the tents of wild men, made only of boughs of trees. But, God be praised, they were all gone, though but very lately before we came: as we perceived

by the bones of cattle, and shells of fruit, which lay scattered about. We supposed that want of water had driven them out of the country down to the river-side; but, since it had rained a shower or two, they were gone again. Once, about noon, sitting down upon a rock by the river-side, to take a pipe of tobacco and rest ourselves, we had almost been discovered by the women of these wild people, coming down, as I suppose, to wash themselves in the river: who being many of them, came talking and laughing together. At the first hearing of the noise, being a good distance, we marvelled what it was: sitting still and listening, it came nearer, a little above where we sat; and at last we could plainly distinguish it to be the voices of women and children. Whereupon we thought it no boot to sit longer, since we could escape undiscovered, and so took up our bags, and fled as fast as we could.

Thus we kept travelling every day from morning till night, still along by the river-side, which turned and winded very

crooked. In some places it would be pretty good travelling, and but few bushes and thorns, and in others a great many: so that our shoulders and arms were all of a gore, being grievously torn and scratched; for we had nothing on us but a clout about our middles, and our victuals on our shoulders, and in our hands a tallipat and an axe.

The lower we came down this river, the less water, so that sometimes we could go a mile or two upon the sand, and in some places three or four rivers would all meet together. When it happened so, and was noon, the sun over our head, and the water not running, we could not tell which to follow, but were forced to stay till the sun was fallen, thereby to judge of our course. We often met with bears, hogs, deer, and wild buffaloes, but all ran so soon as they saw us. But elephants we met with no more than that I mentioned before. The river is exceeding full of alligators, all along as we went; the upper part of it nothing but rocks. Here and there, by the side of this river, is a world of

hewn stone pillars, standing upright, and other heaps of hewn stones, which I suppose formerly were buildings. And in three or four places are the ruins of bridges, built of stone; some remains of them yet standing upon stone pillars. In many places are points built out into the river, like wharfs, all of hewn stone; which I suppose have been built for kings to sit upon for pleasure: for I cannot think they ever were employed for traffic by water; the river being so full of rocks that boats could never come up into it.

The woods in all these northern parts are short and shrubbed, and so they are by the river-side, and the lower the worse; and the grounds so also.

In the evenings we used to pitch our tent, and make a great fire both before and behind us, that the wild beasts might have notice where we lay; and we used to hear the voices of all sorts of them; but, thanks be to God, none ever came near to hurt us. Yet we were the more wary of them, because once

a tiger showed us a cheat: for having bought a deer, and having nothing to salt it up in, we packed it up in the hide thereof, salted, and laid it under a bench in an open house, on which I lay that night, and Stephen lay just by it on the ground, and some three people more lay then in the same house; and in the said house a great fire, and another in the yard. Yet a tiger came in the night, and carried deer and hide and all away; but we missing it, concluded it was a thief: we called up the people that lay by us, and told them what had happened; who informed us, that it was a tiger, and with a torch they went to see which way he had gone, and presently found some of it, which he let drop by the way. When it was day we went further, and picked up more which was scattered, till we came to the hide itself, which remained uneaten.

We had now travelled till Thursday afternoon, when we crossed the river called Coronda Oyah, which was then quite dry: this parts the King's country from the Malabars. We saw no sign of inhabitants

here. The woods began to be very very full of thorns, and shrubby bushes with clifts and broken land; so that we could not possibly go in the woods; but now the river grew better, being clear of rocks, and dry, water only standing in holes: so we marched along in the river upon the sand. Hereabouts are far more elephants than higher up; by day we saw none, but by night the river is full of them.

Friday, about nine or ten in the morn ing, we came among the inhabitants: for then we saw the footing of people on the sand, and tame cattle with bells about their necks. Yet we kept on our way right down the river, knowing no other course to take to shun the people. And as we went still forwards we saw Coracan corn sowed in the woods, but neither towns nor people; nor so much as the voice of man. But yet we were somewhat dismayed, knowing that we were now in a country inhabited by Malabars. The Wanniounay, o prince of this people, for fear, pays tribut to the Dutch, but stands far more affected towards the King of Candy: which made

our care the greater to keep ourselves out of his hands; fearing lest, if he did not keep us himself, he might send us up to our old master: so that great was our terror again, lest, meeting with people, we might be discovered. Yet there was no means now left us how to avoid the danger of being seen. The woods were so bad, that we could not possibly travel in them for thorns; and to travel by night was impossible, it being a dark moon, and the river a-nights so full of elephants and other wild beasts coming to drink; as we did both hear and see, lying upon the banks with a fire by us. They came in such numbers because there was water for them no where else to be had, the ponds and holes of water, nay the river itself in many places, being dry.

There was therefore no other way to be taken but to travel on in the river. So down we went into the sand, and put on as fast as we could set our legs to the ground, seeing no people (nor I think nobody us), only buffaloes in abundance n the water.

CHAP. XI.

Being in the Malabar Territories, how they encountered two Men, and what passed between them—And of their getting safe unto the Dutch Fort—And their Reception there, and at the Island Manaar, until their embarking for Columbo.

THUS we went on till about three of the clock afternoon: at which time, coming about a point, we came up with two Bramins on a sudden, who were sitting under a tree boiling rice. We were within forty paces of them; when they saw us they were amazed at us, and as much afraid of us as we were of them. Now we thought it better policy to treat with them than to flee from them; fearing they might have bows and arrows, whereas we were armed only with axes in our hands, and knives by our sides; or else that they might raise the country and pursue us. So we made a stand; and, in the Chingulay language, asked their leave to come near to treat with them, but they did not understand it: but, being risen up, spake to us in the Malabar tongue, which we

could not understand. Then, still standing at a distance, we intimated our minds to them by signs, beckoning with our hand; which they answered in the same language. Then offering to go towards them, and seeing them to be naked men and no arms near them, we laid our axes upon the ground with our bags, lest we might scare them, if we had come up to them with those weapons in our hands, and so went towards them with only our knives by our sides. By signs with our hands, showing them our bloody backs, we made them understand whence we came, and whither we were going: which when they perceived, they seemed to commiserate our condition, and greatly to admire at such a miracle which God had brought to pass: and as they talked one to another, they lifted up their hands and faces towards heaven, often repeating Tombrane, which is God in the Malabar tongue.

And by their signs we understood they would have us bring our bags and axes nearer; which we had no sooner done, but they brought the rice and herbs, which they had boiled for themselves, to us, and

bade us eat; which we were not fitted to do, having, not long before, eaten a hearty dinner of better fare; yet could not but thankfully accept of their compassion and kindness, and eat as much as we could; and in requital of their courtesy, we gave them some of our tobacco: which, after much entreating, they did receive, and it pleased them exceedingly.

After these civilities passed on either side, we began by signs to desire them to go with us and show us the way to the Dutch fort: which they were very unwilling to do, saying, as by signs and some few words which we could understand, that our greatest danger was past, and that by night we might get into the Hollanders' dominions. Yet we being weary with our tedious journey, and desirous to have a guide, showed them money to the value of five shillings, being all I had; and offered it to them to go with us: which, together with our great importunity, so prevailed, that one of them took it; and, leaving his fellow to carry their baggage, he went with us about one mile, and then began to take his leave of us, and to

return: which we supposed was to get more from us. Having therefore no more money, we gave him a red Tunis cap and a knife, for which he went a mile farther, and then as before would leave us, signifying to us, that we were out of danger, and he could go no further.

Now we had no more left to give him, but began to perceive, that what we had parted withal to him was but flung away; and although we might have taken all from him again, being alone in the wood, yet we feared to do it, lest thereby we might exasperate him, and so he might give notice of us to the people, but bade him farewell, after he had conducted us about four or five miles. And we kept on our journey down the river as before, until it was night, and lodged upon a bank under a tree; but were in the way of the elephants; for in the night they came and had like to have disturbed us, so that for our preservation we were forced to fling firebrands at them to scare them away.

The next morning being Saturday, as soon as it was light, having eaten to

strengthen us, as horses do oats before they travel, we set forth, going still down the river: the sand was dry and loose, and so very tedious to go upon: by the side we could not go, being all overgrown with bushes. The land hereabouts was as smooth as a bowling-green, but the grass clean burned up for want of rain.

Having travelled about two hours, we saw a man walking in the river before, whom we would gladly have shunned, but well could not, for he walked down the river as we did, but at a very slow rate, which much hindered us. But we considering upon the distance we had come, since we left the Bramin, and comparing with what he told us, we concluded we were in the Hollanders' jurisdiction; and so amended our pace to overtake the man before us; whom we perceiving to be free from timorousness at the sight of us, concluded he had used to see white men. Whereupon we asked him to whom he belonged. He, speaking the Chingulay language, answered, To the Dutch; and also that all the country

was under their command, and that we were out of all danger, and that the fort of Arrepa was but some six miles off: which did not a little rejoice us. We told him we were of that nation, and had made our escape from Candy, where we had been many years kept in captivity; and having nothing to give him ourselves, we told him, that it was not to be doubted, but the chief commander at the fort would bountifully reward him, if he would go with us and direct us thither. But whether he doubted of that or no, or whether he expected something in hand, he excused himself, pretending earnest and urgent occasions that he could not defer; but advised us to leave the river, because it winds so much about, and turn up without fear to the towns, where the people would direct us the way to the fort.

Upon his advice we struck up a path that came down to the river, intending to go to a town, but could find none; and there were so many cross paths that we could not tell which way to go; and the land here so exceedingly low and level, that we could see no other thing but trees.

For although I got up a tree to look if I could see the Dutch fort, or discern any houses, yet I could not; and the sun being right over our heads, neither could that direct us: insomuch that we wished ourselves again in our old friend the river. So after so much wandering up and down, we sat down under a tree, waiting until the sun was fallen, or some people came by: which not long after three or four Malabars did; one of which could speak a little Portuguese. We told these men we were Hollanders, supposing they would be the more willing to go with us, but they proved of the same temper with the rest before mentioned. For until I gave one of them a small knife, to cut betel-nuts, he would not go with us; but for the lucre of that he conducted us to a town. From whence they sent a man with us to the next, and so we were passed from town to town until we arrived at the fort called Arrepa: it being about four of the clock on Saturday afternoon, October the 18th, 1679. Which day God grant us grace that we may never forget, when he was pleased to give us so great a deliverance from such a long

captivity, of nineteen years and six months and odd days, being taken prisoner when I was nineteen years old, and continued upon the mountains, among the heathen, till I attained to eight-and-thirty.

In this my flight through the woods, I cannot but take notice with some wonder and great thankfulness, that this travelling by night in a desolate wilderness was little or nothing dreadful to me, whereas formerly the very thoughts of it would seem to dread me; and in the night when I lay down to rest with wild beasts round me, I slept as soundly and securely as ever I did at home in my own house. Which courage and peace I look upon to be the immediate gift of God to me, upon my earnest prayers, which at that time he poured into my heart in great measure and fervency. After which I found myself freed from those frights and fears which usually possessed my heart at other times. In short, I look upon the whole business as a miraculous providence, and that the hand of God did eminently appear to me, as it did of old to his people Israel inthe like circumstances, in leading and conducting me

through this dreadful wilderness, and not to suffer any evil to approach nigh unto me.

The Hollanders much wondered at our arrival, it being so strange that any should escape from Candy; and entertained us very kindly that night: and the next morning, being Sunday, sent a corporal with us to Manaar, and a black man to carry our few things.

At Manaar we were brought before the captain of the castle, the chief governor being absent. Who, when we came in, was just risen from dinner: he received us with a great deal of kindness, and bade us sit down to eat. It seemed not a little strange to us, who had dwelt so long in straw cottages among the black heathen, and used to sit down on the ground and eat our meat on leaves, now to sit on chairs, and eat out of China dishes at a table: where were great varieties, and a fair and sumptuous house, inhabited by white and Christian people; we being then in such habit and guise, our natural colour excepted, that we seemed not fit to eat with his servants, no nor his slaves.

After dinner the captain inquired concerning the affairs of the King and country, and the condition of their ambassadors and people there : to all which we gave them true and satisfactory answers. Then he told us, that to-morrow there was a sloop to sail to Jafnapatam, in which he would send us to the commander or governor, from whence we might have passage to Fort St. George, or any other place on that coast, according to our desire. After this he gave us some money, bidding us go to the castle, to drink and be merry with our countrymen there. For all which kindness giving him many thanks in the Portuguese language, we took our leaves of him.

When we came to the court of guard at the castle, we asked the soldiers if there were no Englishmen among them. Immediately there came forth two men to us, the one a Scotchman, named Andrew Brown, the other an Irishman, whose name was, Francis Hodges: who, after very kind salutes carried us unto their lodgings in the castle, and entertained us very nobly, according to their ability, with rack and tobacco.

The news of our arrival being spread in the town, the people came flocking to see us, a strange and wonderful sight! and some to inquire about their husbands, sons, and relations, which were prisoners in Candy.

In the evening a gentleman of the town sent to invite us to his house, where we were gallantly entertained both with victuals and lodging.

The next day being Monday, ready to embark for Jafnapatam, came order from the captain and council, that we must stay until the commander of Jafnapatam, who was daily expected, came thither. Which we could not deny to do: and order was given to the victuallers of the soldiers to provide for us. The Scotch and Irish man were very glad of this order, that they might have our company longer; and would not suffer us to spend the captain's benevolence in their company, but spent freely upon us at their own charges. Thanks be to God, we both continued in health all the time of our escape: but within three days after we came to Manaar, my companion fell very sick, that I thought I should have lost him.

Thus we remained some ten days; at which time the expected commander arrived, and was received with great ceremonies of state. The next day we went before him to receive his orders concerning us; which were, to be ready to go with him on the morrow to Columbo, there being a ship that had long waited in that road, to carry him: in which we embarked with him for Columbo. At our coming on board to go to sea, we could not expect but to be sea-sick, being now as fresh men, having so long disused the sea; but it proved otherwise, and we were not in the least stirred.

CHAP. XII.

Their Arrival at Columbo, and Entertainment there—Their Departure thence to Batavia—And from thence to Bantam—Whence they set sail for England.

BEING arrived safely at Columbo, before the ship came to an anchor, their came a barge on board to carry the commander ashore. But being late in the evening,

and my consort sick of an ague and fever, we thought it better for us to stay until morning, to have a day before us. The next morning we bid the skipper farewell, and went ashore in the first boat, going straight to the court of guard, where all the soldiers came staring upon us, wondering to see white men in Chingulay habit. We asked them if there were no Englishmen among them; they told us there were none, but that in the city there were several. A trumpeter being hard by, who had formerly sailed in English ships, hearing of us, came and invited us to his chamber, and entertained my consort, being sick of his ague, in his own bed.

This strange news, of our arrival from Candy, was presently spread all about the city, and all the Englishmen that were there immediately came to bid us welcome out of our long captivity. With whom we consulted how to come to speech of the governor. Upon which one of them went and acquainted the captain of the guard of our being on shore: which the captain understanding, went and informed the governor thereof; who sent us answer, that to-morrow we should come before him.

After my consort's fit was over, our countrymen and their friends invited us abroad, to walk and see the city. We being barefoot and in the Chingulay habit, with great long beards, the people much wondered at us, and came flocking to see who and what we were; so that we had a great train of people about us as we walked in the streets. After we had walked to and fro, and had seen the city, they carried us to their landlady's house, where we were kindly treated both with victuals and drink; and returned to the trumpeter's chamber, as he had desired us, when we went out. In the evening came a boy from the governor's house, to tell us that the governor invited us to come to supper at his house; but we having dined late with our countrymen and their friends, had no room to receive the governor's kindness: and so lodged that night at the trumpeter's.

The next morning the governor, whose name was Ricklof Van Gons, son of Ricklof Van Gons, general of Batavia, sent for us to his house: whom we found standing in a large and stately room, paved with

black and white stones; and only the commander, who brought us from Manaar, standing by him: who was to succeed him in the government of that place. On the further side of the room stood three of the chief captains, bare-headed. First, he bid us welcome out of our long captivity, and told us, that we were free men, and that he should have been glad if he could have been an instrument to redeem us sooner, having endeavoured as much for us as for his own people. For all which we thanked him heartily, telling him we knew it to be true.

The governor perceiving I could speak the Portuguese tongue, began to inquire concerning the affairs of the King and country very particularly, and oftentimes asked about such matters as he himself knew better than I. To all his questions my too much experience enabled me to give a satisfactory reply. Some of the most remarkable matters he demanned of me were these:

First, they inquired much about the reason and intent of our coming to Cottiar.

To which I answered them at large Then they asked, If the King of Candy had any issue? I told them, As report went, he had none. And, Who were the greatest in the realm next to him? I answered, There were none of renown left, the King had destroyed them all. How the hearts of the people stood affected? I answered, Much against their King: he being so cruel. If we had never been brought into his presence? I told them, No; nor had ever a near sight of him. What strength he had for war? I answered, Not well able to assault them, by reason the hearts of his people were not true to him; but that the strength of his country consisted in mountains and woods, as much as in the people.

What army he could raise upon occasion? I answered, I knew not well, but, as I thought, about thirty thousand men.

Why he would not make peace with them, they so much suing for it, and sending presents to please him? I answered, I was not one of his council, and knew not his meaning.

But they demanded of me, What I thought might be the reason or occasion of it? I answered, Living securely in the mountains, he feareth none; and for traffic he regardeth it not.

Which way was best and most secure to send spies or intelligence to Candy? I told them, By the way that goeth to Jafniputtan, and by some of that country people, who have great correspondence with the people of Neurecalava, one of the King's countries.

What I thought would become of that land after this King's decease? I told them, I thought, he having no issue, it might fall into their hands.

How many Englishmen had served the King, and what became of them? which I gave them an account of.

Whether I had any acquaintance or discourse with the great men at court? I answered, that I was too small to have any friendship or intimacy, or hold discourse with them.

How the common people used to talk concerning them? I answered, They used

much to commend their justice and good government in the territories and over the people belonging unto them.

Whether the King did take counsel of any, or rule and act only by his own will and pleasure? I answered, I was a stranger at court, and how could I know that?

But they asked further, What was my opinion? I replied, He is so great, that there is none great enough to give him counsel.

Concerning the French, If the King knew not of their coming before they came? I answered, I thought not, because their coming seemed strange and wonderful unto the people.

If I knew any way or means to be used whereby the prisoners in Candy might be set free? I told them, Means I knew none, unless they could do it by war.

Also, they inquired about the manner of executing those whom the King commands to be put to death. They inquired also very curiously concerning the manner of our surprisal, and entertainment or usage among them; and in what parts of

the land we had our residence: and particularly concerning myself; in what parts of the land, and how long in each I had dwelt, and after what manner I lived there, and of my age; and in what part or place, when God sends me home, I should take up my abode. To all which I gave answers.

They desired to know also, how many Englishmen there were yet remaining behind. I gave them an account of sixteen men, and also of eighteen children born there. They much inquired concerning their ambassadors detained there, and of their behaviour and manner of living; also what the King allowed them for maintenance; and concerning several officers of quality prisoners there, and in general about all the rest of their nation. And what countenance the King showed to those Dutchmen that came running away to him? I answered, The Dutch runaways the King looks upon as rogues. And concerning the Portuguese they inquired also. I told them, The Portuguese were about some fifty or threescore persons, and six or seven of those Europe men born.

They asked me moreover, How we had made our escape, and which way, and by what towns we passed, and how long we were in our journey? To all which I answered at large.

Then the governor asked me, What was my intent and desire? I told him, To have passage to our own nation at Fort St. George. To which he answered, That suddenly there would be no convenient opportunity; but his desire was, that we would go with him to Batavia, where the general his father would be very glad to see us. Which was not in our power to deny. Then he commanded to call a Dutch captain, who was over the countries adjacent, subject to their jurisdiction: to him he gave order to take us home to his house, and there well to entertain us, and also to send for a tailor to make us clothes. Upon which I told him, his kindness shown us already was more than we could have desired; it would be a sufficient favour now to supply us with a little money upon a bill, to be paid at Fort St. George, that we might therewith clothe ourselves. To which he

answered, That he would not deny me any sum I should demand, and clothe us upon his own account besides. For which we humbly thanked his Lordship: and so took our leaves of him; and went home with the aforesaid captain.

The governor presently sent me money by his steward, for expenses when we walked abroad in the city. We were nobly entertained, without lack of any thing, all the time we stayed at Columbo. My consort's ague increased, and grew very bad; but the chief chirurgeon, by order, daily came to see him, and gave him such potions of physic, that by God's blessing he soon after recovered.

During my being here, I writ a letter to my fellow-prisoners I left behind me in Candy: wherein I described at large the way we went, so that they might plainly understand the same: which I finding to be safe and secure, advised them, when God permitted, to steer the same course. This letter I left with the new Governor, and desired him, when opportunity presented, to send it to them: who said he

would have it copied out into Dutch for the benefit of their prisoners there, and promised to send both together.

The governor seemed to be pleased with my aforesaid relations, and replies to his demands, insomuch that he afterwards appointed one that well understood Portuguese to write down all the former particulars. Which being done, for further satisfaction they brought me pen and paper, desiring me to write the same that I had related to them in English, and sign it with my hand, which I was not unwilling to do.

Upon the governor's departure there were great and royal feasts made: to which he always sent for me. Here were exceeding great varieties of food, wine, and sweetmeats, and music. Some two-and-twenty days after our arrival at Columbo, the governor went on board ship to sail to Batavia, and took us with him. At which time there were many scores of ordnance fired. We sailed all the way with flag and pennant under it, being out both day and night, in a ship of about eight hundred tons burden;

and a soldier standing, armed, centinel at the cabin-door, both night and day. He so far favoured me, that I was in his own mess, and ate at his table; where every meal we had ten or twelve dishes of meat, with variety of wine. We set sail from Columbo the four-and-twentieth of November, and the fifth of January anchored in Batavia road.

As we came to greater men, so we found greater kindness; for the General of Batavia's reception of us, and favours to us, exceeded (if possible) those of the governor his son. As soon as we came before him, seeming to be very glad, he took me by the hand and bade us heartily welcome, thanking God on our behalf, that had appeared so miraculously in our deliverance; telling us withal, that he had omitted no means for our redemption, and that if it had lain in his power, we should long before have had our liberty. I humbly thanked his Excellency, and said, that I knew it to be true; and that though it missed of an effect, yet his good will was not the less, neither were our obligations, being ever bound to thank and pray for him.

Then his own tailor was ordered to take measure of us, and furnish us with two suits of apparel. He gave us also monies for tobacco and betel, and to spend in the city. All the time we stayed there, our quarters were in the captain of the castle's house. And oftentimes the general would send for me to his own table, at which sat only himself and lady; who was all bespangled with diamonds and pearls. Sometimes his sons and daughters-in-law, with some other strangers, did eat with him; the trumpet sounding all the while. We finding ourselves thus kindly entertained, and our habits changed, saw, that we were no more captives in Candy, nor yet prisoners elsewhere; therefore cut off our beards which we had brought with us out of our captivity; for until then we cut them not; God having rolled away the reproach of Candy from us.

Here also they did examine me again concerning the passages of Candy, causing all to be writ down which I said and requiring my hand to the same. Which I refused, as I had done before, and upon the same account, because

I understood not the Dutch language. Whereupon they persuaded me to write a certificate, upon another paper, under my hand, that what I had informed them of was true: which I did. This examination was taken by two secretaries, who were appointed to demand answers of me concerning the King of Ceylon and his country: which they committed to writing from my mouth.

The General's youngest son being to go home admiral of the ships this year, the General kindly offered us passage upon their ships, promising me entertainment at his son's own table, as the governor to Columbo had given me in my voyage hither. Which offer he made me, he said, that I might better satisfy their Company in Holland concerning the affairs of Ceylon, which they would be very glad to know.

At this time came two English merchants hither from Bantam, with whom the General was pleased to permit us to go. But when we came to Bantam, the English agent very kindly entertained us, and being not willing that we should go to

the Dutch for passage, since God had brought us to our own nation, ordered our passage in the good ship Cæsar, lying then in the Road, bound for England, the land of our nativity, and our long-wished-for port. Where, by the good providence of God, we arrived safe in the month of September.

THE END.